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USSR SPACE PROPOSAL CALLED 'VOICE OF REASON'

PM240900 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Aug 83 First Edition p 3

[Colonel M. Ponomarev article under the rubric "Observer's Notes": "The Voice of Reason"]

[Text] For some days now the world public's attention has been focused on the results of the talk between Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and a group of American senators, and on the major new USSR initiatives which he set forth in the course of the talk. They are being widely commented on by prominent state and public figures in various countries and by the mass media. And even such conservative press organs as London's THE TIMES are forced to admit: "The USSR's new peace initiatives are a step in the right direction."

What has caused so much attention toward Comrade Yu.V. Andropov's remarks during his meeting with the American senators? First and foremost the fact that these remarks vividly confirmed the USSR's profound, sincere love of peace and its firm determination to eliminate the threat of nuclear catastrophe which hangs over mankind. In the foreign policy sphere the Soviet Union firmly and steadily follows the course defined by the 26th CPSU Congress and concretized and further developed at the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the party's Central Committee. The USSR sees it as its main aim in the international arena to consolidate peace and international security and ensure a calm life for the peoples, first and foremost through eliminating the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union intends to continue to act persistently and consistently in this direction, displaying readiness for fruitful, mutually advantageous cooperation and collaboration with all states.

These are not just words. They are concrete deeds, concrete proposals which the Soviet Union puts forward at talks on the most acute problems of today, positions which it upholds resolutely and firmly.

Take that highly acute problem, the question of the nuclear arms race in Europe, which has now become a raw nerve in international relations. Summing up the essence of a series of Soviet proposals at the talks underway in Geneva on nuclear arms limitation in Europe, Comrade Yu.V. Andropov pointed out in the course of the 18 August Kremlin talk that if they were implemented, the total quantity of medium-range nuclear facilities on the continent would be reduced by approximately two-thirds both by the USSR and on the NATO side. And on the NATO side only aircraft-borne systems would be reduced, while our side would also reduce missiles, including a significant number of modern SS-20's.

Another highly acute problem of today is strategic arms limitation and reduction. The solution of this problem -- as well as of the question of nuclear arms limitation in Europe -- is held up by the American side's reluctance to reach a mutually acceptable solution based on the principle of equality and identical security. The United States continues its unrealistic attempts to persuade or force the Soviet Union to disrupt the structure of the Soviet strategic forces and reduce their main components, leaving the United States a completely free hand, by which means it hopes to gain military superiority.

In this connection particular significance is attached to the Soviet proposal to "freeze" the USSR and U.S. strategic nuclear arsenals. "An agreement on a freeze would immediately halt the dangerous process of the unrestrained nuclear arms race, which is what all the peoples dream of," Comrade Yu.V. Andropov has stressed. "A quite different political atmosphere would emerge, in which it would be easier to reach agreement on reducing stockpiles of such armaments."

Anyone can see that the USSR's approach to the most acute problems of today accords with the vital interests of mankind. Sober-minded figures even in Western countries cannot fail to see this.

Without a doubt the liveliest responses have been aroused by the major new Soviet initiatives aimed at eliminating the danger of the spread of the arms race to space and the Soviet Union's undertaking not to be the first to launch antisatellite weapons of any type into outer space. Moreover the USSR has submitted a proposal to include on the agenda for the forthcoming 38th UN General Asssembly Session the question of "The conclusion of a treaty banning the use of force in outer space or from space to earth" and put forward a draft for such a treaty, aimed at preventing the militarization of space.

Let us recall that 5 months ago the U.S. President delivered a speech on television in which he put forward an extensive program for spreading the arms race to outer space. The American armed forces are also directed to prepare for an "effective strike against the Soviet Union from outer space" by the "Defense Directive for Fiscal 1984-1988" elaborated by the Pentagon and the U.S. National Security Council. Much has already been said in the press about the sophisticated types of American weapons designed for development in near-earth orbits and the plans to use for military purposes the shuttle reusable spacecraft system.

It is clear from American press reports that the United States has progressed particularly far in the development of antisatellite weapons. One such weapon system bears the name ASAT. It incorporates a high-speed F-15 fighter, which is to fulfill the role of flying launch pad for a 6-meter two-stage rocket, which carries the antisatellite proper. The antisatellite itself has a mass of 45 kg and a diameter of about 0.3 meters and is equipped with an infrared guidance system, a warhead, and a small engine enabling it to approach the target being intercepted. It is calculated that the rocket, launched from an F-15 aircraft, could deliver the antisatellite to enemy space targets in low and medium near-earth orbits at a distance of up to 1,000 km.

It is also reported that it is planned to create two squadrons of ASAT F-15 aircraft, which are to be deployed at the air bases at Langley (Virginia) and Maccord (Washington).

In order to prevent the arms race from spreading to space, the Soviet Union has submitted a number of clear, concrete proposals. First and foremost, a total ban on the testing and development of any space-based weapons for use against targets on the earth, in the air, and in outer space. Then, an agreement on eliminating antisatellite systems already in existence and banning the creation of new ones. Lastly, the Soviet leadership has adopted an extremely important decision: The USSR pledges not to be the first to launch into outer space antisatellite seapons of any type -- that is, it imposes a unilateral moratorium on such launches for as long as other states, the United States included, refrain from launching any type of antisatellite weapon into space.

The USSR's new peace initiatives, which are aimed at barring the way to the spread of the arms race to outer space, show once again that the Soviet Union is prepared to take the most far-reaching steps in order to ensure security for all peoples. The whole world can hear the voice of reason emanating from Moscow. And it is high time this voice was heeded by those who have not given up trying to wreck the existing East-West military-strategic equilibrium and seeking to resolve all world problems from a position of strength and strength alone.

U.S. ANTISATELLITE ROCKET TESTS DISCUSSED

Tests Hamper Arms Talks

LD231704 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] New York August 23 TASS -- In late August the Pentagon plans to test a new anti-satellite weapon capable of destroying any space object in near-earth orbits, the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES reports. That weapon is a small two-stage rocket with a highly sensitive warhead homing in on the infra-red radiation of the satellite. The rocket will be launched from a specially modified F-15 fighter at altitude of 18 miles over the earth surface. It will take a mere six hours to mount special equipment and fastenings on the fighter. It is expected to form two F-15 squadrons with anti-satellite weapons which will be kept on full combat alert round the clock.

The newspaper points out that the precise cost of the development of the entire anti-satellite weapon system is unknown but that, according to expert estimates, tens of billions of dollars will be needed to carry out these plans.

According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the United States has been working for about 20 years to develop space weapons capable of shooting down enemy satellites. This work has been boosted during the past few years, after the United States broke off talks with the Soviet Union on the demilitarisation of outer space. The newspaper points out that the small size of new rockets and particularly their deployment on F-15 fighters will make them virtually unverifiable. In other words, progress at the Soviet-American arms control talks will be considerable hampered.

More Research Underway

LD232111 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] It has been reported that a missile has been designed in the United States to kill satellites in terrestrial space. Its first trial launching has been scheduled for the end of this month. Here's a commentary from our observer Viktor Olin.

The new anti-satellite complex designed in the United States belongs to a so-called aircraft missile system. It provides for the initial transportation of a weapon by aircraft up to the stratosphere's frontier. After being launched from there the weapon is to detect a target with the help of a complex guidance system and destroy it. The key merit of such a complex, as American specialists say, is in the quickness of the whole operation, which is to last no longer than an hour.

Alongside with work on the new missile the research and testing of other weapons have been underway in the United States to wage so-called star wars. Towards this end the latest in science and nuclear and laser technology has been used. Scores of billions of dollars are to be spent in the next few years to develop space weapons and enable the United States in case of a conflict to bring the enemy down on his knees and make his deaf, blind and dumb by destroying its space observation and communication facilities.

Perhaps it's the enticement of such a prospect that explains why the Reagan administration has reacted more than coolly to the idea not to spread the arms race to terrestrial space.

However, Washington prefers to hush up these motives and to back up the accelerated preparation of space weapons it operates with two stereotypes. The first alleges that there is a Soviet superiority in the field, and the second claims that it would be difficult to control an agreement. In the meantime these arguments, if scrutinized, hold no water. It is common knowledge that the United States has not sat idle, as Washington tries to prove. Over the last 20 years work has been going on to design so-called satellite killers and trial launchings have been staged on an atoll in the Pacific Ocean. Of course it was not by magic that the new missile had appeared.

As for measures of control, it's the United States that has been doing all it can to make them as much difficult as possible. One of the objectives in the field is to create a compact weapon which is as hard to detect as a needle in a stack of hay. All these facts explain Washington's negative attitude to the recent Soviet proposal to sign a treaty to renounce the creation of anti-satellite weapons and scrap the available systems under effective control. The idea that those who control outer space control the world, fraught with dangerous consequences, has apparently got deep in the minds of high ranking officials in Washington.

U.S. NEUTRON WEAPONS POSE 'GREAT DANGER'

AU221415 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Edgar Cheporov, APN political observer: "Why Is The United States Threatening With Neutron-Chemical Warfare?"]

[Text] Edgar Cheporov, APN political observer, visited the editorial board of TRUD. We discussed the issues which are to be reviewed by the forthcoming trade union dialogue-meeting in Sofia. In this context he stressed that the peoples of Europe and the entire world must understand the great danger for mankind created by the U.S. striving to intensify the production of new mass destruction weapons.

The U.S. Senate recently approved the mass production of neutron combat shells and binary shells, which are to be deployed in various parts of the globe. This is how A. Mertes, member of the FRG ruling coalition, reacted to this decision: "This is the business of the United States only." Such a statement is understandable. It aims at calming the public and convincing it that the neutron bomb and chemical weapons should concern only the Americans. However, I think that behind A. Mertes' words there is more than he himself realizes. The United States really thinks that deploying new kinds of weapons on foreign territories is a purely American business.

Yes, in Washington they do not hide the fact that the Pentagon is planning to deploy and use the neutron weapons not in the United States, but in Western Europe and other world regions. As R. Pearl, assistant for nuclear forces to the U.S. Secretary of Defense, declared: "The U.S. armed troops do not have to ask for permission to deploy the new weapons. As a matter of fact the treaty on stationing a foreign military contingent on the FRG territory permits their equipment 'with weapons deemed necessary.'"

The situation which has been created with the Senate's approval of the neutron weapon is characteristic, in my opinion, of the U.S. relations with its allies. Once again Washington cheated them, forgetting its promises, and did not even deem it necessary to explain its step. The U.S. Congress had decided: The means allocated for the production of neutron artillery shells cannot be used "unless the NATO countries officially announce their agreement with the deployment of this weapon on their territory."

Has anybody heard of such an agreement? Has anybody officially declared it? Nobody! The previous precondition has been forgotten, as if it had not existed.

It is clear that the present decision on the neutron weapon directly affects the West European peoples, because they are in the area in which the neutron weapon might become necessary "for defending the U.S. interests." Stressing the "merits" of this weapon the Pentagon mentioned some of its qualities, such as the small dimensions of the charge, its ability to kill people but preserve equipment and cities intact, and so forth. It is precisely these qualities of the neutron weapon that turn the idea of its use into something realistic for the Pentagon.

The same goals were pursued by another Senate decision -- on chemical weapons. By producing a new generation of this terrible weapon the Pentagon aims to achieve military-strategic superiority over the USSR. The Washington strategists consider the binary chemical weapon an integral part in the script for the so-called "limited nuclear war." The most plausible stage of conducting this war, considered by the United States, is Western Europe. U.S. chemical weapons have already been stationed on FRG territory near the cities of Fischbach, Hanau, Mannheim, and Massweiler. The construction of five additional storehourses for the binary weapons is being considered. The United States also intends to deploy chemical combat shells in Great Britain, Italy, Turkey, and some other Western states.

"The U.S. Administration," writes the FRG newspaper KOELNER STADTANZEIGER in connection with the decision of the U.S. Senate, "should feel itself cheated. The decision to resume production of nerve gas represents a provocation toward the NATO allies." It is difficult to disagree with such arguments. However, something else evokes objection. The same newspaper confirms that the Americans "apparently sinply do not understand the significance for the Europeans of words such as nerve gas or chemical bombs."

No, the Americans completely understand the meaning of these words. However, it is much more important for them to demonstrate: indifference toward public opinion and toward the condemnation of their policy, their determination to impose their position, and their intention to turn their partners into prisoners of war of their military strategy by deploying lethal weapons on foreign territory and thus subjugate its partners even more to the U.S. policy.

U.S., NATO SAID BLOCKING DISARMAMENT TALKS

LD231521 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 33, Aug 83 pp 5-6

[Gennadiy Stakh article: "Disarmament Committee: No Change"]

[Text] Another session of the Disarmament Committee is under way in Geneva. Broad sections of the world public are closely following its work because it has become a generally recognized forum for multilateral talks on arms limitation and disarmament. Its 40 members include all the five nuclear powers, and the socialist, non-aligned and Western capitalist states are represented in it on a balanced basis. In conditions of the mounting military danger, the U.N. General Assembly has adopted quite a few recommendations in recent years urging the committee to proceed without delay to the drafting of agreements on the implementation of disarmament measures proposed by socialist and nonaligned countries.

The committee also has experience of working out major international agreements on limiting the arms race.

It is expected everywhere that the committee will agree on measures that will put an end to the stockpiling of arms. And quite naturally questions are being asked. Why is it that in recent years not a single international agreement has emerged from the Geneva Palace of Nations, why is the committee marking time contrary to the persistent demands of the overwhelming majority of states, who is responsible for the obtaining situation?

The Disarmament Committee is often compared with a barometer indicating the state of the political weather in this important area of international relations. It is not simply a forum where political debates, conversations, consultations and talks take place. It is a venue where two diametrically opposite approaches to questions of disarmament clash in sharp political confrontation like two onrushing frontal atmospheric streams. On the one hand, there is the line of the U.S.S.R., the other socialist states and non-aligned countries demanding a lowering of the level of armaments and transition to disarmament. On the other hand, there is the course of the U.S.A. and its closest allies which are engaged in an ill-concealed political game designed to block genuine negotiations so that in the meantime they could pursue unimpeded their military programmes.

In conditions of the growing military threat the representatives of socialist and non-aligned countries proposed to discuss at the committee's current session concrete measures of preventing nuclear war. The Soviet delegation suggested a businesslike discussion in a special working body of such important measures as the assumption by the nuclear states of a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons (the Soviet Union has already assumed such an obligation, the freezing of nuclear arsenals both quantitatively and qualitatively, with a view to subsequently liquidating them altogether, the introduction of moratorium on all nuclear explosions pending conclusion of a treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. But the U.S. delegates refused even to take their seat at the working table together with the representatives of the committee's other members to discuss the suggested freeze, a problem on whose solution the existence of civilization depends.

The obstructionist line of the U.S.A. and certain other NATO countries manifests itself especially clearly in connection with the discussion in the committee of questions connected with curbing the nuclear arms race. Together with other socialist countries the Soviet Union has submitted to the committee a proposal to end the production and reduce the stockpiles of nuclear arms, all the way to their total elimination. Also presented was a concrete document providing for the elaboration of a programme of stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament. The socialist countries, the non-aligned and neutral states belonging to the so-called "Group of 21" call for the speediest commencement of talks on the reduction and liquidation of nuclear arms. The General Assembly has likewise urged the committee to discuss this problem without delay. But notwithstanding all this the talks have not yet begun. They are being blocked by the American and other NATO delegates under all manner of trumped-up pretexts.

The situation with the question of prohibiting nuclear weapon tests is not better. The termination of tests is a lever by means of which it is possible really to stop the perfection and expansion of nuclear arsenals. This has been demonstrated by the positive experience of the operation of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed in Moscow 20 years ago by the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain.

The United States, which in 1980 suspended tripartite Soviet Anglo-American talks and refused to ratify the U.S.-Soviet agreements on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests (1974) and on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes (1976) has blocked the talks on banning all tests in the committee as well. The American delegation refuses to discuss the essence of the question and to draft the text of a treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. The U.S. stand in the committee is clearly subordinate to a totally different aim: not to tie its hands and to continue the development of new warheads for American strategic weapons systems, for medium-range missiles and other nuclear weapons. Taking into consideration the views of the majority of committee members, the American delegation has consented to take up the question of "monitoring and verifying" the proposed treaty. But here, too, it is doing everything to drown the discussion of the problem in a quagmire of endless and unnecessary technical details connected with control. This is a pet tactic [as published] of American diplomats when they have to camouflage the unseemly aims of Washington's policy.

The same line of frustrating talks on concrete issues can be seen also in the discussion of other measures in the field of restraining the nuclear arms race. For a number of years now the United States is shamelessly ignoring in the committee the demand of the non-nuclear states that clear-cut and reliable guarantees of the non-use of nuclear arms against them be adopted. Under various pretexts the American diplomats are trying to secure the adoption of such a formula of "guarantees" that would allow the U.S. not only to retain the possibility of nuclear blackmail but also to make use of nuclear weapons.

It is through the fault of the U.S.A. and some other NATO countries that it has been impossible to reach agreement on the non-deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of those states where there are no such weapons at present. There is nothing surprising about this. This proposal, supported by the majority of United Nations member countries, runs counter to Washington's plans of deploying new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe and building up nuclear arms in the Far East and the Indian Ocean that are aimed not only against the U.S.S.R. but also threaten Asian and African states.

The American delegates flatly refuse to reach agreement in the committee on the prohibitic of neutron weapons. Meanwhile production of nuclear neutron munitions is in full swing in the United States. Using all sorts of subterfuges, the Pentagon is trying to deploy them, initially at least in the form of separate components, closer to the "theatres of limited nuclear war," that is in Western Europe and in Asian countries.

The intent of the United States to frustrate talks in the committee manifests itself especially clearly in the question of preventing an arms race in outer space. The committee has before it a Soviet draft treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space. The U.S.S.R. has stated its readiness to go further and reach agreement on prohibiting the use of force in outer space and from outer space in respect of the Earth. This question has acquired special urgency in connection with Washington's plans to create and deploy various systems of cosmic weapons, in connection with the decision on the development of a large-scale ABM system. Serious apprehensions have been voiced in the committee that the fulfilment of such plans would destabilize the strategic equilibrium as a whole and increase the danger of nuclear war. Most delegations insist on the commencement of concrete talks on the question of preventing the militarization of outer space. Some Western countries also favour such an approach. Even not all of Washington's allies are prepared to support it. But the American delegate with great-power arrogance reject talks, in particular on the pretext that the member states of the committee are scientifically and technologically "incompetent" in this field.

Realizing that such arguments cannot be taken seriously and in view of the situation in the committee, the U.S. delegation had to agree to begin consultations on setting up a special working group. However, they seek to word that group's mandate in a manner that would force it to discuss not measures to prevent an arms race in outer space, but general issues relating to that problem.

The U.S. is also impeding in every way the talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on liquidating their stockpiles. On the other hand, there is no lack of sham activity on the part of the American representatives. In Washington they never tire repeating that they approach these talks seriously. But the facts prove that in the committee the United States is engaged in talks for the sake of talks, to be more exact, for the purpose of deceiving the international public. On the basis of the Soviet draft of the basic provisions of a convention on the prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons, now being discussed in the committee, and also of proposals made by other states, it should be possible quite quickly to reach agreement on a generally acceptable draft document, given that the United States really strove for this. But the American delegates have set themselves a different aim. The endless discussions of technical details of control complicate the attainment of agreement and create the impression that there still exist many unresolved questions, including technical ones. The purpose of this is obvious in the light of the unprecedented preparations for chemical war undertaken by the U.S. Administration. Not being satisfied with having the world's biggest arsenal of chemical weapons, President Reagan announced at the beginning of 1982 a programme of chemicalrearmament. Recently the Senate decided to allocate funds for the creation of binary weapons which the Pentagon plans to deploy in Europe, closer to the territory of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, and also in Asia and other areas. The myth about a "Soviet chemical threat" is used as a pretext to justify this line.

More, Washington wants to abolish the existing international bans on chemical warfare. For this purpose the United States,together with its allies,tried at the United Nations last year to undermine the 1925 Geneva protocol on the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological arms under the pretext of creating a control mechanism. All these actions eloquently demonstrate that the United States is staking on a chemical arms race, and not on the liquidation of these arms.

The attitude of the United States and its closest allies to the role of the Disarmament Committee itself is very characteristic. The striving of NATO diplomacy to turn the committee into an arena for cheap propaganda shows is becoming ever more obvious. At a time when talks on urgent problems are clearly being sabotaged in the committee, high-placed representatives and all manner of NATO envoys use its rostrum for the spreading of propaganda myths about "Soviet military superiority."

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries strive to put the committee's work on the rails of businesslike and constructive cooperation for the sake of limiting arms and achieving real disarmament. The non-aligned states, too, are proceeding from such positions in the committee. At their summit meeting in Delhi they firmly called on the committee to make a weighty contribution to stopping the arms race. They have also declared for the speediest completion of work to draft a treaty on the comprehensive prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, for solving the problem of ensuring guarantees of the security of non-nuclear states, and other important questions being dealt with by the committee.

In the Prague Political Declaration adopted in January of this year the socialist states -- members of the Warsaw Treaty -- called on all countries to impart a new impulse to pending talks, including those conducted within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Committee.

In the joint statement adopted in Moscow this June by the party and state leaders of socialist countries it is stated that to achieve concrete accords on the urgent questions in the field of stopping the arms race "it is necessary to exert maximum effort, conduct talks in a businesslike way and in a positive spirit, to undertake steps facilitating the establishment of a favourable atmosphere for their progress, and not to undertake actions which might complicate them."

In short, the socialist states have the firm intention to search for and find mutually acceptable accords in the Disarmament Comm'ttee. This important forum must make its contribution to curbing the arms race, to removing the danger of nuclear war. The attainment of agreements on the problems that are being discussed at the committee is possible. This requires good will on the part of the United States and its NATO allies. Will it be forthcoming?

ARMS PROPOSALS, CENTRAL AMERICA, CHAD REVIEWED

PM240905 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 83 First Edition p 4

[Igor Melnikov: "International Review"]

[Text] Supreme Duty

It is to be assumed that our descendants will turn repeatedly to the beginning of the eighties when making a principled assessment of the dialogue on questions of disarmament and nuclear arms limitation in Europe. In this dialogue the Soviet voice has a confident ring. It contains none of the bombast or exaggeration characteristic of the power across the ocean. If one were to speak about the source of such superiority, it has been achieved not by means of a "monster weapon" concealed from other people's eyes (although the USSR does possess the full range of modern weapons) but thanks to the principled and just nature of our stance and the Soviet Union's loyalty to the agreements and treaties which it has signed.

Comrade Yu.V. Andropov drew attention to this feature in his conversation with the U.S. labor union figure W. Winpisinger last Wednesday. "We in the Soviet Union -- both the leaders and the millions of ordinary working people -- consider it our paramount duty," he said, "to try to prevent the dangerous development of events and strengthen peace."

It is just such a constructive and flexible line that our country is pursuing at the Geneva talks. It is designed so that Washington should ultimately change its negative approach and show an interest in reaching an honest understanding. The USSR has sufficient restraint and determination; it will strive persistently for positive results at the talks. And it will continue to do so until it is forced by the U.S. Administration's deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe to concentrate on the adoption of defensive countermeasures so as to ensure the security of the Soviet people and their allies.

A detailed account of the Soviet Union's stance on the question of nuclear arms in Europe was given by Comrade Yu.V. Andropov when he received a group of U.S. Democratic senators in the Kremlin on 18 August. Summarizing the essence of a number of our proposals that have been on the negotiating table at the Geneva talks for some time, he noted that were these initiatives to be implemented, the total number of medium-range nuclear facilities in Europe would be reduced by approximately one-third, both on the part of the USSR and NATO. In so doing NATO would reduce the quantity of its aircraft, whereas we would reduce out quantity of missiles, including a substantial number of modern SS-20's. As a result, the Soviet Union would retain considerably fewer missiles and warheads than it had in 1976, when no one in the West was yet speaking of the USSR's superiority in that category of weapons. The talk in the Kremlin also touched on a number of other vital themes. During the discussion on strategic arms limitation the American guests were informed about the unrealistic nature of the attempts being made by the Washington administration to persuade or compel the other side to disrupt the structure of its strategic forces and to reduce their basic components while leaving its own hands completely free. The question at issue can only be resolved on equal terms.

The first responses to the Kremlin meeting have already shown the keen interest aroused among Americans by the theme raised in the conversation of a "freeze" on the two states' strategic nuclear arsenals. The Soviet side proposes not only not increasing the number of existing types of missiles, but also stopping the development and testing of new types and kinds of strategic weapons and limiting as much as possible the modernization of existing facilities. Furthermore, it would agree to a "freeze" on all the components of the USSR and U.S. nuclear arsenals, which would set an example to others.

The Soviet leader explained to the senators the USSR's new initiatives in the matter of keeping the arms race out of space. What is our country proposing? A complete ban on the testing and deployment of all space-based weapons designed to hit targets on earth, in the atmosphere, or in space, plus an agreement on eliminating existing antisatellite systems and banning the creation of new systems of that kind.

In addition, the Soviet leadership has taken a decision of exceptional importance: The USSR assumes a commitment not to be the first to put any kind of antisatellite weapons into space. In other words, our country is imposing a unilateral moratorium on the launching of such weapons for as long as other states, including the United States, refrain from putting antisatellite weapons into space.

The world is again convinced that peoples' security and the removal of the threat of global catastrophe are the Soviet state's supreme duty.

The "Game Without Rules" Will Not Work!

During the talk the Soviet leader issued a warning to those politicians who, in a tense situation, are playing a "game without rules" in the hope of achieving superiority over the USSR. Nothing will come of that. This is a timely warning. In a situation when the position of our country and its Warsaw Pact allies is finding increasing understanding in the world and when the indisputable logic of the Soviet initiatives is making it possible to secure new bridgeheads, this is precisely when official circles in the West, and their propaganda and other services, are exerting a great deal of effort in order to distort the meaning of the USSR's proposals and to halt or at least split and sow discord within the mass antiwar movement.

The closer Western Europe comes to crossing the Rubicon of the notorious NATO "two-track decision," the more acute the political struggle becomes. With ill-concealed anxiety, the patrons of militarist interests are demanding the speediest possible deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles. Others are voicing a note of embarrassment and of belated recognition of the unfairness and one-sided nature of the "zero" and "interim" options. It is said that Soviet cities are within range of the Pershing II's but that U.S. cities are inaccessible to the SS-20's.

On this score one could recall the well-known saying: Better late than never. But, after all, the whole problem is that unless this insight is followed by decisive action in abandoning the whole "arms upgrading" venture, in just a few weeks that "late" may indeed become "never."

Who could have imagined 1 month ago, for example, that the U.S. Congressional Research Service, in a special report, would have declared unjustified the Washington administration's refusal to consider the British and French nuclear arsenals when assessing the potentials of the sides at the nuclear arms limitation talks in Europe? Meanwhile, the report says in black and white, in acting in this way the United States is ignoring the commitments assumed by Britain and France with regard to NATO.

Exactly 1 day later an official State Department spokesman said sharply in reply to journalists that the Congressional Research Service's conclusions in no way reflect the position of the administration or of Congress. Breathing a sigh of relief, Bonn and other NATO capitals disowned the "seditious", although authoritative, conclusions. However, the document has nevertheless made a great impression on the West European public.

In the turbid waters of the NATO "missiles campaign" other Western politicians are trying to catch apparently quite unusual and by no means small fish.

Quite recently West German public opinion was stunned by a radical and, at first glance, bold move by Franz Josef Strauss, the not unknown leader of the Christian Social Union, which now belongs to Bonn's ruling coalition, when he said that the FRG Government should obtain from Washington the right to take part in decision-making or the right to veto the use of U.S. nuclear weapons on West German territory. This move involving the acquisition of a "second key to the U.S. missile lock" is quite cunning, although you would not think so at first. It is no coincidence that there was even heated debate within the opposition Social Democratic Party of Germany at first on whether or not to support Strauss' proposal. Nevertheless, the false bottom of the suitcase where the political contraband was hidden was discovered. The "initiative" concealed nothing other than an attempt to bring to the surface the long hidden question of whether the FRG can have nuclear weapons or direct access to them. That is the dangerous form that the very fact of the NATO plans for the deployment of the new U.S. missiles can take.

Meanwhile, a mighty wave of protest against the deployment of the missiles and against the nuclear arms race continues to roll across European and American soil. Preparations have been launched throughout the United States for a nationwide march on Washington which will take place on 27 August. Americans are beginning to grasp increasingly clearly the difference between the situation that exists prior to the deployment of the new missiles in Europe and that which will ensure if the plan is carried out.

City after city and community after community in Western Europe are declaring themselves nuclear-free zones. Over 150 British town councils have followed the example set by Manchester, which in November 1980 became the first city in Western Europe to declare itself a nuclear-free zone. Belgium already has 230 such municipalities and communes, and the Netherlands has about 100. Beja, the largest municipality in Portugal, which ever since the war has been a haven for NATO air forces, has also declared itself a nuclear-free zone.

Like it or not, these days the Western news agencies' telegrams about mass antiwar actions and sieges of NATO nuclear missile bases are eclipsing other reports. There is despair in store for those U.S. conductors who, with a wave of their baton, intend to transform entire cities and communities in Western Europe into nuclear stockpiles and firing ranges.

Despair drives people to take actions which have nothing to do with the concepts of honor and of elementary objectivity. Thus the NATO camp has nurtured superplans to deceive the international public by pooling the efforts of all the NATO countries' information and propaganda services. What specifically is being undertaken? Attempts are being made to denigrate the antiwar movement. That, of course, is nothing new. The new element in this hullaballoo is that hastily created pseudo peace-loving "organizations" are being brought into being which have been instructed to support NATO's actions.

The organizers of this campaign are trying to pass off black for white by presenting the militarist deeds of the Pentagon and NATO as the "best guarantee of peace." To this end it is planned to hold in various West European countries -- guess what? -- NATO marches under...antiwar slogans. A "peace through NATO" committee is being set up on the shores of misty Albion, while on the Rhine the intention is to hold as many as 10,000 "days for peace and security with Pershing missiles" under the flags of the ruling Christian Democratic Union.

In intensively propagating their own antiwar (here read antipeace) organizations, NATO circles are aiming, in vain, to eradicate the desire to curb the militarist orgy from political life and the civic self-awareness of the Western countries' inhabitants.

Imperialist Variations on a Theme

The Near East, Central America, and southern and central Africa are regions where the United States, by interfering in local conflicts, has many times created explosive situations which have threatened to develop into the conflagration of a major war and to thrust the young independent states back into their hated past. The Washington administration considers it politically advantageous (and if that is the case "legitimate," too, of course) to impose its will on those states within the framework of a global anti-Soviet and antisocialist strategy. Stress is placed on the approach to the developing countries as a "battlefield between East and West." Washington finds it more convenient to hide its mercenary schemes that way.

The alarming events in Central America and also the Chad conflict became the object of the closest attention last week. Not for a day was there a lull in the salvoes of the "combat lesson" that the U.S. President and his "architects of hard-line policy" have decided to give to the revolutionary and liberation movements "south of the Rio Grande." Washington's hand has been felt everywhere -- in Guatemala, reeling under a new pro-U.S. coup, in the armed struggle that still rages in El Salvador, and in the supermarathon of maneuvers in Honduras which are scorching the Nicaraguan borders with the hot breath of military conflict. The escalation of tension in Central America is pushing the United States onto a dangerous path. That is also acknowledged by the American press, which no longer finds it original to compare Washington's present actions with the former Vietnam adventure. There is a strengthening of feeling everywhere in favor of a political settlement in Central America, and the efforts of those Latin American countries which are striving to help to find mutually acceptable solutions to the problems are being positively assessed. The constructive proposals of Nicaragua and Cuba rank among actions of that kind.

Nor is the tension easing in Chad. The "internationalization" of the internal conflict there has become quite obvious. According to Britain's THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, the French assault troops' operation of occupation code named "Manta" is the largest since the war in Algeria. The impending air operation has already been rehearsed during joint exercises between U.S. AWACS aircraft based in Sudan and French Jaguar aircraft stationed in the Central African Republic. Thus the neocolonialist "birds of a feather" are flocking together. France, which was formerly master in many African countries, still undoubtedly has "its own interests" in Chad too. But at the same time, Western observers are noting that France is being increasingly embroiled in the Chad conflict by Washington, which is "conceding" leadership. What is the hidden point of this? Is it to embroil France in a neocolonialist adventure and to arrange for it a "Chad-style Vietnam," thereby tying the hands of Paris and, indeed, of certain other Western European countries' affairs? There you have it, the irony of fate: The United States took the place of France in the "dirty war" against Vietnam and now U.S. imperialism is palming off onto France an alternative "dirty war." As we can see, imperialists on both sides of the Atlantic are brought together by attempts to slow down the natural course of history and to eliminate the anti-imperialist forces which reject diktat.

ZAGLADIN BLAMES CAPITALISM FOR ECOLOGY PROBLEMS

AU231620 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Aug 83 p 6

[Article by Vadim Zagladin, first deputy chief of CPSU Central Committee's International Department: "The World's Global Problems and Social Progress"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] GLOBAL PROBLEMS ARE BECOMING AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT FEATURE IN THE LIFE OF MANKIND AND ATTRACTING ITS TROUBLED ATTENTION, ABOVE ALL THE ATTENTION OF SCIENTISTS.

THIS IS NO COINCIDENCE. ON THE CONTRARY. THE FACT IS THAT THE DEEP CONFLICTS EMERGING IN THE PROCESS OF MANKIND'S DEVELOPMENT BECOME REFLECTED IN THE PEOPLE'S MINDS, AND IT IS NECESSARY TO GRASP THAT IT IS EXTREMELY NECESSARY TO RESOLVE THEM IN A WAY THAT WOULD ENABLE MANKIND TO DEVELOP FURTHER.

The aggravating ecological problems on a worldwide scale, the critical deepening gap in the standards of development in the former colonies and in the industrially developed capitalist countries, the demographic problem and the problem of nourishment that is connected with it, the energy crisis and, last but not least, the danger of a world nuclear catastrophe borne out of the policy of imperialism -- all these old problems, and also the newly emerging ones, demand a profound study as well as a scientific and, at the same time, practical search for ways to resolve them. The attention devoted to the various aspects of the science which deals with worldwide problems (globalistics) is undoubtedly connected with the fact that, particularly in recent decades, the issues dealt with by this branch of science are attaching increasing significance to man's problems and to the methods of ensuring the best possible conditions for the comprehensive development of his personality.

A large number of works, both abroad and in the Soviet Union, have already been devoted to this group of issues. The analysis of these works shows that the only reliable theoretical-methodological foundation of the research of global problems is Marxist-Leninist theory.

In fact, the representatives of practically all basic ideological schools of thought and trends are writing about global problems. However, none of these schools of thought, none of these trends except the Marxist-Leninist one, has been so far capable of working out any serious theoretical conclusions and practical guidelines.

A typical example of this is the activity of the so-called Club of Rome, although its works contain extensive and rather interesting empirical material, they nevertheless suffer from class limitations and are characterized by most gloomy and pessimistic evaluations and conclusions.

MARXIST-LENINIST SCIENCE DEMANDS A SPECIFICALLY HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE RESEARCH OF CURRENT GLOBAL PROBLEMS AND TO THEIR ASSESSMENT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES, BOTH AS A UNIFIED SYSTEM AND ALSO IN CONNECTION WITH OTHER NATURAL AND SOCIAL PHENOMENA.

Nature as a whole represents a uniform, interlinked system and sum total of processes which are taking place in it. However, these processes take a spontaneous and irregular course both in time and in space. This objectively leads to the potential possibility of a certain disruption of the equilibrium that is naturally formed in the system of nature. The constant, incessant development of nature turns this possiblity into reality.

Conflicts With Nature Can Be Resolved

Up to a certain time, nature itself coped with these emerging breakdowns of its internal equilibrium; it set into motion its elemental adjustment mechanism, or rather the very same blind and nescient forces that are inherent to nature and the interactivity of which is governed by general logic [obecne zakonitosti]. But a new conflict, one threatening with far-reaching consequences, cropped up in the advance of nature after man's emergence. Because, by expanding production and by mastering nature, man began to gradually and increasingly violate the naturally developing equilibrium of its individual elements. Essentially we are confronted today by deep conflicts between nature and man, between nature and society. On occasion these conflicts become antagonistic and result in unhealthy and dangerous crises.

It would, of course, be incorrect to judge -- as some scientists do -- that the cause and roots of all these conflicts lie in the progress of civilization itself, above all in the scientific-technical revolution as such. A FATALISM OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN MAN AND SOCIETY ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE SURROUNDING NATURE ON THE OTHER, DOES NOT EXIST. THE EMERGING CONFLICTS CAN BE SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED -- NATURALLY ONLY IF MAN, WHO HAS ACQUIRED A KNOWLEDGE OF THE LAWS GOVERNING THE ADVANCE OF NATURE, HARMONIZES HIS ACTIVITY WITH THESE LAWS AND TAKES THEM INTO ACCOUNT TO AN APPROPRIATE EXTENT; ONLY IF HE FORESEES THE CONSEQUENCES OF HIS BEHAVIOR.

However, this demands a sufficiently high level of development of society's scientific-technical potential. We can say that today, thanks to the advance of the scientific-technical revolution, mankind does have such a potential at its disposal, and for the very first time in its history.

Nevertheless, mere scientific-technical prerequisites are not sufficient for resolving the problems emerging in the relations between man and nature. Certain social conditions are also necessary for this, conditions which make it possible to utilize these prerequisites purposefully, but also in keeping with nature's needs. Historical experience teaches us that the relations of private ownership do not establish such conditions. On the contrary; AT FIRST EXPLOITATORY RELATIONS ARE AN OBSTACLE, AND LATER -- PARTICULARLY IN OUR TIMES -- THEY ARE BOTH THE MAIN CAUSE OF AN AGGRAVATION OF THE "TRADITIONAL" PROBLEM CROPPING UP IN MAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH NATURE, AND ALSO THE SOURCE OF NEW PROBLEMS. These relations also generate intersocial problems, which also become global ones (such as the problem of war and of averting it, the problem of the backward nature of former colonial countries and eliminating this, and so forth.

The main social goal of exploitatory production methods is the appropriation of surplus value -- that is, the acquisition of riches -- and later profit; in our times it is maximum profit. This narrowly egoistic goal, pursued by the classes which rule the societies with private ownership relations, resulted, first, in a remorseless oppression of the working strata of the popultion and in a systematic use of force, including armed force, which it used against them in the interests of consolidating and perpetuating the existence of the current system. Second, it also produced the oppression of weaker nations by other, stronger nations, and the occupation of the territories of some countries by other countries. Wars of conquest became the direct consequence and inevitable tool of oppression and enslavement of nations from the very moment of the establishment of private ownership relations. Finally, the very same social goal -- that is, profit -- led to an unbridled devastation of nature and resulted in the advance of technical progress which took into account the needs of the protection of nature and the redemption of the damages it caused to nature only in cases of extreme necessity.

Wherein Lies the Danger to Mankind

All these results of private ownership civilizations, which stemmed from one and the same source, complemented and influenced each other, at the same time deepening and aggravating the problems which emerged in the "man-nature" and "man-society" systems. At the stage of imperialism, when the process of socializing production means and exchange became truly internationalized, these problems became global and, at the same time, most dangerous for mankind's future existence. Their particularly intensive advance fell in the years 1960-80; this was due to a number of factors.

FIRST, the intensification of global problems was influenced by the sharpening antagonism of the two social systems confronting each other -- socialism and capitalism. In the endeavor to win the competition with the new social system which is on its way up, capitalism is mobilizing all its forces and possibilities. It is increasing both the oppression of the masses and the exploitation of natural resources.

Due to the state policy of the capitalist countries on the one hand, and to the policy of supranational companies on the other, the gap between the development level of former metropolies and colonies is constantly deepening. Capitalism is seeking a way out of the existing situation in a strengthening of the confrontation both on the external front -- toward a socialism and the developing countries, and on the domestic front, in relation to the workers class and its allies. This is also the source of feverish armament with all its consequences, which include a narrowing of the room for maneuver in resolving global problems.

SECOND, the deepening of worldwide problems also reflects the new, higher level of the advance of man's scientific-technical knowledge, which is connected with the scientific-technical revolution, but also the new phase of mastering nature's secrets. However, this last factor is not being compensated on a worldwide scale by measures for saving and renewing nature.

THIRD, the current aggravation and deepening of global problems also reflects the conflict between the stormy advance of science and technology and the social conditions in the capitalist society -- a conflict which is inevitable under capitalism.

Capitalism as an Antiquated System

True, the purely scientific-technical possibilities of capitalism should theoretically enable it, at least partly, to resolve certain global problems. For instance, according to a research that has been carried out, already THE PRESENT STANDARDS OF THESE ACHIEVEMENTS COULD GRATIFY THE BASIC NEEDS OF ALL MANKIND AS REGARDS NOURISHMENT, HOUSING, EDUCATION, AND MEDICAL CARE. AND STILL CAPITALISM IS INCAPABLE OF ACHIEVING THIS IN VIEW OF ITS SOCIAL SUBSTANCE. We must recall here the words of V.I. Lenin on this issue in 1913: "Wherever you turn, on every step you find tasks which mankind could resolve immediately. But this is prevented by capitalism. It has accumulated enormous riches -- and it has turned people into slaves of these riches.... Civilization, freedom, and riches under capitalism make one think of the satiated Croesus, who is rotting alive but preventing everything that is young from living." (V.I. Lenin, "Works", Vol 19, p 386)

During the existence of capitalism as a social system, an enormous lot of proof has accumulated about its being historically predestined to perish, about its living on borrowed time. A new and extensive proof are the global problems. The helplessness of the old system in the face of these problems, its inability to cope with them comprehensively and simultaneously in all the countries in which they persist, is forcing even the Western experts to the obvious conclusion about THE IMPERATIVE NEED TO REPLACE CAPITALISM BY SOME NEW, HIGHER, AND MORE HUMANE SYSTEM. It is as K. Marx and F. Engels had stressed in the past: The necessity emerges to protect the produced values and the production forces which have been produced by the capitalist society against the pernicious, destructive effects of this same social system -- and to do it by depriving the ruling class of capitalists of the possibilitity to direct social production and distribution, because it is incapable of this, and to hand it over to the mass of producers. It is exactly this that represents a transition to socialism.

The real practice of the socialist society, which has been in existence for all of two-thirds of a century, has absolutely convincingly proved that, IN VIEW OF ITS NATURE, SOCIALISM DOES NOT PRODUCE PROBLEMS WHICH COULD BE RANKED AS INTERSOCIAL PROBLEMS (the problems of war, weak advance, and so forth). On the contrary, socialism itself resolves such problems on its own territory, while simultaneously and substantially contributing toward resolving them on a worldwide scale. As regards the problems emerging in relations between the society and man, between man and nature, such problems (given by the objective processes of the advance of production) can emerge even on the soil of socialism.

But the socialist society has already proven its ability to resolve these problems (in any case, on its own territory); in doing this it relies on its historic merits, which stem from the supremacy of socialist ownership of production means. It is only natural that, as long as the socialist social relations do not spread on a worldwide scale (and, as Lenin used to say, a revolution is never made to order, or according to an agreement), the possibilities of the new social system are limited. In this situation THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SEE THE WAY OUT OF THIS SITUATION IN ESTABLISHING THE WIDEST POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, ABOVE ALL IN RESOLVING THE GLOBAL PROBLEM OF SUCH SUPREME IMPORTANCE AS AVERTING A NUCLEAR WAR.

VELIKHOV HEADS DELEGATION TO PEACE SEMINAR

PM230810 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Aug 83 p 3

[TASS report: "International Scientists' Seminar"]

[Text] Rome, 20 Aug (TASS) -- An international scientists' seminar devoted to the problems of peace and nuclear disarmament opened today in the Sicilian city of Erice. Eminent scientists from both capitalist and socialist countries are taking part. The Soviet delegation is led by Academician Ye.P. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Science.

Research Group Set Up

AU231948 Rome ANSA in English 1940 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Excerpt] (ANSA) -- Erice, Sicily, August 23 -- The heads of the United States and Soviet scientific delegations to the third conference on nuclear war in this Sicilian city, and the president of Italy's Ettore Majorana Research Institute, Antonino Zichichi, have reached agreement to set up an international research group to study the worldwide consequences of a nuclear war and new nuclear defensive weapons. The agreement, announced today at the end of the Erice conference, will be extended to bring in scientists from a number of European countries for studies of the simulation and the consequences of nuclear confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The research group will also examine the ways and means of breaking the current balance of developing a new type of defense against nuclear destruction.

PEREZ DE CUELLAR PRAISES USSR 'PEACE INITIATIVES'

LD200452 Moscow TASS in English 0442 GMT 20 Aug 83

[Text] New York August 20 TASS -- UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar has given a high appraisal of the USSR's new major peace initiatives aimed at removing the danger of the arms race spreading to outer space. In an interview with a TASS correspondent he has described as exceptionally important the USSR's commitment not to be the first to put any types of anti-satellite weapons into outer space. The obligation was set out by Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the meeting with the U.S. senators in the Kremlin. In the past two years the UN General Assembly has repeatedly urged the international community to make joint efforts to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space. Perez de Cuellar emphasised that the unilateral moratorium announced by the USSR on the launchings of anti-satellite weapons is an important step in this direction. The UN secretary general expressed conviction that agreement on complete prohibition of the testing and deployment of any space-based weapons for hitting targets on earth, in the air, and outer space would become a tangible contribution to strengthening international security.

REAGAN SEATTLE SPEECH 'DISTORTING REALITY'

LD241126 Moscow TASS in English 1109 GMT 24 Aug 83

[Text] Washington August 24 TASS -- U.S. President Ronald Reagan, addressing the annual convention of the American Legion in Seattle (Washington), a large U.S. war industry centre, has reaffirmed that Washington intends to continue the extremely dangerous course towards escalating global war preparations and the unrestricted race of nuclear armaments. His election-campaign-type speech praises the administration for implementing the massive programme of "America's re-armament." More than 2.3 trillion dollars are set aside for this purpose. Ronald Reagan said that his administration will do even more in the field of arms buildup, attaching top priority to the speedy "modernisation" of the U.S. strategic nuclear capability. The President insisted, in particular, on the earliest implementation of the programme of developing and deploying intercontinental ballistic MX missiles, the new strategic midgetman missile system, strategic B-1 bombers and nuclear Trident submarines. Totally distorting the reality, the U.S. President justified these unprecedented war preparations by claiming that the United States displayed for too long its unilateral restraint in nuclear arms buildup and now has to make up for the lost time. This "argument" is apparently intended for people with little knowledge of the matter. According to official data of the U.S. Government, in the seventies, which the President alleges were the years of American "inactivity," the Pentagon increased several times the number of nuclear warheads on its strategic missiles and developed new systems of strategic weapons which are now being launched into production.

In a bid to conceal the sinister essence of these militarist programmes, directed at undermining the existing rough military equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the United States and starting another round in the arms race, the President spoke at length about his "peacefulness." The head of the administration needed these claims for two purposes. Firstly, as the ABC television network pointed out, Reagan aimed his remarks at the voters who show ever greater concern over Washington's militarist course. Even advocates of the President admit that opposition to U.S. armed interference in any part of the world is mounting in the country and that the question of how to dispel the fears about Reagan pushing the country towards war will be the focal point of the election campaign, the T.V. company noted. Secondly, as the ASSOCIATED PRESS agency points out, Reagan's peace rhetoric is designed to make it easier to pilot through Congress a bill on military allocations for fiscal 1984, which provides for spending to carry out the programmes of developing strategic weaponry of new types. Seeking to delude wide sections of the American public opposed to the nuclear arms race, Reagan reported "some progress" in the Soviet-American strategic arms reduction and limitation talks in Geneva. This is a deliberate attempt to deceive the public, for Washington's position has brought the Geneva talks to an impasse and precludes the possibility of reaching an accord since it is directed at pressing the Soviet Union into unilateral disarmament. Reagan himself had to admit this by saying that "we are still a long way from an agreement" at the Geneva talks. But he made it clear that the White House does not intend to do anything to make the Geneva dialogue really constructive and fruitful.

Peace must be based on strength, the U.S. President declared. He launched rude, insulting attacks on peace campaigners, likening the mounting movement in favour of the earliest conclusion of an accord on curbing the arms race to the policy of "appeasement" as regards Nazi Germany in the thirties. It is no accident that when the President was speaking in Seattle, the CBS television network reports, hundreds of people took part in demonstrations during which they criticised various aspects of his policy.

U.S. 'UNDERMINES' SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES

LD231851 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] Washington August 23 TASS -- The Ronald Reagan administration has sent to Congress a report detailing research gains under the U.S.-Soviet cooperative programs during the 1981-82 fiscal years. According to the ASSOCIATED PRESS, the report has it that "the U.S. side is beginning to see significant benefits as a result of collaborative relationships painstakingly developed over the years of exchange" between Soviet and American scientists in the fields of medicine, physics, experimental technology, and environmental protection.

This conclusion is noteworthy because it has been drawn by the administration which not only fails to strive for the development of mutually beneficial Soviet-U.S. scientific exchanges, but also undermines them in every way. Whashington put up and continues to raise artificial barriers on this way and, for the sake of curtailing contacts, resorts to pleas which are of political nature and have no bearing on science and technology.

Within the framework of this course the U.S. Administration has decided not to resume a number of agreements on the two countries' cooperation in such fields as space research and the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, medicine and public health, science and technology, and the power industry, the agreements which expired in 1982. In other words, a blow was deliberately dealt at everything positive that was painstakingly achieved by the two countries in the past.

The unreasonable character of such a policy is evident to U.S. industrialists, scientists, and political figures. Businessman Mr. Kaiser has rejected in THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper the administration's assertions that the United States does not ostensibly need the USSR. He stated that the Americans can learn much from the Russians. A report of the National Science Foundation of the USA points out that Soviet specialists make a considerable contribution to the solution of complex problems of science and technology and that the American scientists have something to learn from their Soviet colleagues. The same point of view has been expressed at hearings in the House of Representatives by Congressman Clement Zablocki.

Notwithstanding the statement of the benefits of Soviet-U.S. cooperation, the U.S. administration, as is clear from the report, does not intend to change its present course towards further undermining the cooperation.

USIA'S WICK CALLED 'GENERAL OF MISINFORMATION'

LD222002 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT 22 Aug 83

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS -- TASS political commentator Robert Serebrennikov writes: Charles Wick, the director of the United States Information Agency (USIA), is said by THE NEW YORK TIMES to have the habit of watching the glowing lights on the wall map in his study like a general pondering the deployment of his troops.

Quite a good observation: The head of Washington's main propaganda agency, Charles Wick is indeed a "general of misinformation".

In a recent interview on the occasion of USIA's 30th anniversary Wick boasted that the USIA now has 106 transmitters and 206 centers throughout the world and is working hard to perform its mission.

Under the Reagan administration the USIA has been given the key role in organising a real propaganda intervention against the USSR and other socialist countries as a component part of Washington's declared "crusade" against socialism, democracy and progress.

A former Hollywood producer and a former music arranger, Wick sets the highest hysterical note in the "psychological war" of unprecedented scope and intensity waged against countries and governments disliked by Washington.

The radio network supervised by USIA is engaged in real brigandage in the ether. The main element there is the Voice of America radio station. Echoing it with great zeal are such mouthpieces of the CIA as the Munich-based Liberty and Free Europe radio stations.

The bigger the lie, the easier people will believe it -- the Washington propagandamen follow this thesis of Goebbels. Using misinformation and slander the USIA distorts the foreign and home policy of socialist countries, their peace initiatives directed at curbing the arms race, at drastically improving international relations.

In the sphere of ideology USIA recommends measures to "soften up socialism from the inside", to interfere in the internal affairs of states and to carry out subversive activities, this being evidenced, in particular, by the runaway campaign against socialist Poland.

The Washington administration does not stint money for the "psychological war". This generosity of the Washington administration is explained by the fact that at present USIA heads the implementation of the notorious "program of democracy and public diplomacy." Contrary to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act it provides for a drastic invigoration of acts of ideological subversion not only against socialist states but also against the Non-aligned Movement, against democratic and anti-war forces, for the brazen imposition of American views on other countries.

But lies, even if lavishly financed, won't get one far. It is becoming increasingly more difficult to stop the decline of American prestige abroad, to whitewash the hegemonistic, imperial course of the United States.

MEETING OF USSR-PRC RAILROAD COMMISSION REPORTED

PM231952 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 83 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Completed Work"]

[Text] Chita, 23 Aug -- A routine session of the Soviet-Chinese mixed border railroad commission completed its work today.

Railway Protocol Signed

OW241225 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 24 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, August 24 (XINHUA) -- A Chinese railway delegation returned to Manzhouli city in northeast China today after attending a session of the Sino-Soviet boundary through railway traffic committee held in Chita city of the Soviet Union from August 15 to 23. [sentence as received]

A protocol was signed at the session.

BRIEFS

USSR-PRC VOLLEYBALL MATCH -- Kiev August 23 TASS -- The Chinese Women's volleyball team defeated the USSR team here today 3-0 (15-11, 15-6, 15-7). The national teams of the USSR and the PRC will play two games in Moscow on August 25 and 26. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 23 Aug 83 LD]

'LARGE-SCALE' MILITARY EXERCISE IN SOUTH KOREA

LD232216 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0709 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] Tokyo, 23 Aug (TASS) -- TASS correspondent Sergey Logachev reports:

In South Korea a new large-scale exercise "for repelling an attack from the north" is underway with the clear purpose of further whipping up the military psychosis in the south of the Korean peninsula. Under the supervision of army and police units, in many cities around the country civil defense groups are being formed, and an unbridled campaign is being waged with the aim of scaring the population with an alleged "North Korean threat."

Such provocative actions have long become habitual in South Korea. The calls by Chon Tu-hwan, leader of the pro-American junta entrenched in Seoul, for "increased vigilance" aim to further aggravate the situation in the area of the Korean peninsula. This is also an attempt to justify the presence in South Korea of the thousands of servicemen from the American expeditionary corps equipped with nuclear weapons, and at the same time camouflage the government's own feverish military preparations.

Seoul's militarist policy is a heavy burden on the population of South Korea and undermines the foundations of the economy. The Chon Tu-hwan clique has increased military spending to over 30 percent of the state budget. In order to avert the approaching economic catastrophe, the South Koreans have been seeking more and more loans from Washington and Tokyo. In consequence, at the end of June of this year the debts of the Seoul regime to foreign countries stood at the huge sum of $38.2 billion. An announcement by the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicates that since the end of 1983 the debt has increased by nearly $900 million. The SANKEI SHIMBUN newspaper in Japan today points out that such a rate of growth in foreign debt is unknown in any other country in Asia.

JAPAN SOWS 'DISTRUST AND HOSTILITY' TOWARD USSR

PM231116 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 83 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Vdovin: "Verbally and in Deeds"]

[Text] Tokyo, 22 Aug — Japanese Foreign Minister S. Abe has expressed himself in favor of developing dialogue with the Soviet Union. This is essential, he said, addressing a press conference in Nemuro City, to eliminate distrust and lack of understanding between the two countries. To this end, the minister reported, the government intends to take steps to organize a bilateral trade conference, to resume the holding of Soviet movie festivals in Japan and Japanese festivals in the USSR, to expand parliamentary exchanges, to invite delegations of eminent Soviet journalists, and so forth.

It is well-known that the stagnation in Japanese-Soviet relations was created through the fault of the Tokyo ruling circles. It is through their efforts that anti-Sovietism has in fact been promoted to the rank of state policy and that everything is being done to curtail contacts, ties, and exchanges with the Soviet Union. Against this background, Abe's statement could only be welcomed. However, the very choice of the venue for this statement is evidence that, while verbally militating for one thing, the Japanese ruling circles are in fact seeking another.

Nemuro is a small city on Hokkaido which the government and ruling Liberal Democratic Party are turning into a stronghold of the anti-Soviet campaign not only on this island but also throughout the country. Abe was in Nemuro after making "a tour of the northern territories," as certain circles in Japan term the Kuril Islands, which belong to the Soviet Union, on board a patrol cutter. In addition to the press conference at which Abe announced that with a view to enlisting international public opinion over the problem of the so-called "northern territories," he intends to speak about it from the UN General Assembly platform this fall. He had meetings with representatives of the local authorities and several organizations which, with the support of the ruling circles, are making revanchist claims against the Soviet Union. The main idea which he voiced during talks with them was that the government will never renounce its territorial claims and will make the development of relations with the USSR dependent on their fulfillment. He did not fail to play on his audience's nerves with "the mounting Soviet military threat" and the SS-20 missiles allegedly targeted on Japan.

The foreign minister's trip and statement are one more example of how, while paying lipservice to the desire to develop mutual understanding and relations with the Soviet Union, Japanese ruling circles are in fact fueling the anti-Soviet campaign and sowing distrust and hostility toward their closest neighbor. It is obviously in this light that we should interpret his statement concerning the desire for dialogue mentioned above.

JAPAN PROPOSES 'PACIFIC FREE TRADE ZONE'

LD231034 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] Tokyo August 23 TASS -- TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovin reports:

The leadership of the federation of economic organizations of Japan, expressing the views of big capital of the country, has come out in favour of the early setting up of a so-called "Pacific free trade zone". Besides Japan, this organization is to include the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and it is to become a "powerful integrated economic complex". The newspaper MAINICHI reports today that the project for setting up the new bloc will be discussed during U.S. President Ronald Reagan's visit to Japan in November.

This is not the first time that Tokyo has tried to push through the plan for setting up a regional alignment, hoping thus to make sure of reliable sale markets, sources of raw material and a basis for political expansion. Several years ago the Japanese Government intensively propagated the concept of a so-called "Pacific community" with participation of the five leading capitalist powers of the region, and also of the members of ASEAN, the Association of South East Asian Nations, South Korea and a number of countries of Latin America and Oceania.

The undertaking of the Japanese leadership utterly failed notwithstanding the very favourable attitude to this idea of Washington, that hoped that a new imperialist bloc would emerge in the region. The developing Pacific Ocean countries rightly regarded it as an openly neo-colonialist plan, designed to make them a rightless raw material appendage of Tokyo and Washington, the newspaper AKAHATA writes. Serious anxiety of the public has also been aroused by the extremely militaristic aspects of this concept since the United States and Japan have already begun considering the setting up of some "international forces" for patrolling the Pacific Ocean which would openly convert the "community" into a direct heir of the aggressive SEATO bloc which ingloriously disintegrated, knocked together by the White House in the "cold war" period.

DRA'S KESHTMAND ADDRESSES AIRMEN ON DUTIES

PM241034 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Aug 83 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Defending the Revolution"]

[Text] Kabul, 23 Aug -- A meeting took place here between S.A. Keshtmand, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the DRA Council of Ministers, and the command and party aktiv of units and subunits of the DRA Air Force and air defense force. Addressing those present, he said, in particular, that at the present stage, when international imperialism and reaction have unleashed and are continuing to wage an undeclared war against the DRA, the tasks facing Air Force and air defense servicemen have become considerably more complex. Despite this, our glorious airmen, air defense personnel, and technical personnel are successfully waging a struggle against counterrevolutionary gangs and giving support to units and subunits of the ground forces. The all-round assistance rendered by the Soviet Union is of great significance in helping the Afghan servicemen to fulfill their duty, the chairman of the DRA Council of Ministers stressed.

S.A. Keshtmand dwelt in particular in the ever increasing role of primary party organizations in the life of the armed forces.

KESHTMAND IN MOSCOW FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT

NC240832 Paris AFP in English 0828 GMT 24 Aug 83

[Text] Moscow, Aug 24 (AFP) -- Afghan Prime Minister Soltan Ali Keshtmand arrived here today for medical treatment, diplomatic sources said. No details were available as to the length of Mr Keshtmand's stay or the nature of the treatment.

Afghan party leader and head of state Babrak Karmal was in Moscow for a month until August 15, and it is likely that he too came for medical care, sources said.

TROOPS 'CRUSH' PAKISTANI DEMONSTRATORS

BK240257 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1300 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] A statement of the official representative of India said there have recently been increased violations of India's airspace by Pakistani military aircraft and [words indistinct]. Besides this, (?fresh) Pakistani contingents attempted to capture an Indian border post.

Meanwhile, in Pakistan itself, the mass movement for ending military rule and restoring democracy continues. The biggest demonstration against Ziaul Haq's military regime was held in Pakistan's southern province of Sind on Monday. The demonstration was held at Ranipur and Khairpur. The 20,000 people who participated in the demonstration demanded an end of military rule. Police used firearms and tear gas to disperse the demonstrators.

For almost 2 weeks, [word indistinct] actions continued in Pakistan. These actions were carried out in several big cities in that country. Troops enterd 11 towns to crush the demonstrations. According to the statistics of the opposition parties, more than 20 persons were killed and hundreds wounded while the demonstrations were dispersed. The local lawyers organization in Karachi announced support to those struggling for the restoration of democracy.

MILITARIZATION OF PAKISTAN, UNREST VIEWED

GF240545 Tashkent International Service in Uzbek 1700 GMT 22 Aug 83

[Unattributed commentary: "The Situation Is Worsening"]

[Excerpts] The political situation in Pakistan worsens with each passing day. There has been antigovernment agitation throughout the country over the past few days and the opposition has been organized on the basis of populist disobedience.

This serious situation has existed in Pakistan for a long time. It began in 1977 when the military in Pakistan [words indistinct] the state, weakened significant articles of the constitution and [words indistinct] the government. The military regime has been trying to (?suppress) the dissatisfaction of the people. The cause of this dissatisfaction, it is a crime to [words indistinct]. It is a fact that the economic situation of Pakistan is worsening. This is bringing pressure to bear on the people's standard of living. Meanwhile, the measures being taken against the democratic community constitute one of the main causes for the popular discontent.

The people have been discontent ever since Pakistan began to align itself with foreign countries, particularly with the United States. The result of this alignment has been the militarization of Pakistan. The latter's relations with its neighbors have become tense.

Pakistan has been involved in the undeclared war which U.S. imperialism and its allies have been waging against the DRA. The Islamabad regime and the United States have agreed to the basing of the headquarters of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force in Pakistan. And, according to foreign press reports, the Pentagon has embarked upon a campaign of setting up naval and air bases and electronic monitoring installations in Pakistan. The electronic monitoring installations will be used for espionage activities against the Soviet Union.

The United States is currently giving Pakistan over $500 million in military and economic aid. However, this does not alleviate the severe economic and financial situation in Pakistan. Nearly all the aid given is being spent for strengthening the offensive capability of Pakistan's Armed Forces. The Army of Pakistan requires 60 percent of that country's budget.

The modern and offensive arms the Islamabad regime has been acquiring have strengthened that country's dependence on the United States. This is causing discontent among the people of Pakistan. As in the case of other peoples in Asia, the people of Pakistan too see their future linked with the strengthening of peace and security in Asia.

GDR PROTESTS 'PROVOCATIVE ATTACK' ON FRG BORDER

LD240716 Moscow TASS in English 0627 GMT 24 Aug 83

[Text] Berlin 23 August TASS -- The GDR news agency ADN reports:

Unidentified persons made a provocative attack on the German Democratic Republic's state border with the Federal Republic of Germany near Sachsgruen in the southern Oelsnitz district last Sunday. From West German territory they intruded into GDR territory and destroyed border security installations.

The permanent representation of the GDR in Bonn has resolutely protested to the FRG Chancellory against this fresh provocation and demanded punishment of the provocateurs. The representation also expressed the hope that the FRG take effective measures to make impossible such acts which run counter to international law in the future.

WEST FAILS TO RESPOND TO EAST'S PEACE EFFORTS

PM231641 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 83 First Edition p 4

[Article by Vasil Bilak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee: "The Path to Peace and Happiness"]

[Text] Never since World War II has mankind been at such a dangerous crossroads as it is now. Each state, each people, each public organization of any significance, and all sensible people in various parts of the planet are confronted with the question as to which path the world is now to take.

The most reactionary circles of U.S. imperialism and its allies in the North Atlantic bloc are trying to impose the path which leads to confrontation, the arms race, the intensification of international tension, the creation and preservation of military troublespots on all continents, and to toying with the destiny of mankind. This is a monstrous and inhuman course. To achieve their ends, the representatives of world reaction are prepared to sacrifice tens and hundreds of millions of people.

The second path, which the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact member states are proposing and for which they are struggling selflessly, runs in the direction of disarmament, mutual understanding among peoples, the easing of tension on the planet, the elimination of the breeding grounds of war, and to peace and happiness for mankind.

The socialist countries, the national liberation forces, and the international workers' movement are doing everything to ensure that the line permeated with genuine humanitarianism and concern for the destiny of civilization may triumph in the contest between the two opposed lines on this earth. Therefore they spare no efforts in combating the menacing danger of war and they are mobilizing for this struggle all honest peace supporters irrespective of their state, political or religious affiliation. The most reactionary forces which are now setting the tone in U.S. policy would not retreat a single step from their dangerous course were it not for protests from the people's masses.

Events are developing very rapidly. The socialist countries are not dramatizing the present situation in the world but it is absolutely alien to them to underestimate the seriousness of the situation. They believe -- and this was discussed at the recent world assembly "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War" in Prague -- that there is still time to find a solution which would avert a further deterioration in the international situation, eliminate tension, and strengthen the foundations of peaceful coexistence. All the foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union and of its allies are aimed at achieving precisely these noble objectives.

The attractiveness of the socialist countries' proposals is borne out by the fact that public opinion in the West is treating them with increasing attention and to an ever-greater degree regards them as a constructive contribution to the attainment of international mutual understanding. Interest in the socialist countries' peace initiatives is intensifying as the mass movement for averting nuclear war grows in the West.

But those who seek to keep quiet about, or to distort, any peaceful proposal from the socialist countries, and to prevent the people's masses from learning the truth, are trying to stifle the voice of people who are devoted to the cause of peace. Although the forces in the West which are hostile to peaceful cooperation based on the principle of equality and identical security for all states are in the minority, they possess power and the instruments necessary for manipulating public opinion.

Only thus is it possible to explain the fact that, in opposition to the demands of all peoples thirsting to live in peace, the voice of the advocates of confrontation is becoming increasingly fierce.

Such are the actions of those who hold in their hands the reins of government and the mass news media in the Western countries, and who are opposed to the provisions of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Declaration adopted at the January meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague. As is known, on the instructions of the Political Consultative Committee, Czechoslovakia conveyed the declaration, with the appropriate interpretation, to the governments of almost all countries of the world and to a large number of important international organizations. What did this exercise reveal?

The Political Declaration is so lucid and clear and it signposts such a realistic way out of the complex international situation that even the most reactionary circles of world imperialism did not dare to condemn it openly. They therefore adopted a tactic familiar from the history of bourgeois diplomacy: instead of a concrete answer to concrete proposals, they go on and on about the fact that they are still "studying" the declaration, while simultaneously using spurious arguments to cast doubt on it and seek out in it what is not there. They in no way want to express their attitude toward the declaration, in the hope that new events will move this problem aside and help people forget about it. The countries of the North Atlantic bloc are interested primarily in not having to give an answer to major proposals such as, for example, the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual rejection of force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO countries.

The arguments with which the representatives of the North Atlantic bloc have opposed the Political Declaration are extremely hackneyed, yet they are presented with extraordinary clamor. It is clear that the hawks would be satisfied only in the event that the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact unilaterally disarmed and surrendered themselves to the tyranny of imperialism. It is time the representatives of NATO abandoned such naive calculations.

Western politicians assert that the proposals put forward in the declaration are already contained in the UN Charter and certain UN resolutions. However, the Political Declaration not only endorses but concretizes the UN resolutions concerning the issues of peace and security and imbues them with new content in accordance with the prevailing situation. The socialist countries have no objections to the NATO states coming forward with a similar initiative. In that event they would surely meet with understanding from our side.

The U.S. President is eager to present himself as a defender of U.S. interests in the remotest corners of the planet. In actual fact, his policy does not serve the U.S. people at all. It is needed only by U.S. reaction and world Zionism, which is a dangerous variety of contemporary racism.

In its propaganda march against the Prague Declaration, Washington invented yet another dubious argument: that Warsaw Pact states allegedly want to drive a wedge between the United States and its West European allies. Is it, however, possible to equate proposals aimed at the peaceful settlement of international conflicts or at the nonuse of military force between two groups with some kind of wedge? Or is it to be understood that the United States advocates war and is thus afraid that the striving for reduced tension and mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe could predominate in the West European countries? If the United States fails to approach the most important proposal of the Political Declaration in all seriousness, this will only go to prove again that it is preparing to fan military conflict.

The Political Declaration has shown convincingly that Europe's problems affect the whole world. The Prague World Assembly justly warned in its concluding appeal "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War" that, if the new U.S. first strike nuclear missiles are deployed in Western Europe, this "would sharply increase the threat of the emergence of a nuclear conflict. Such a conflict will not be restricted to the European continent but will lead to a global catastrophe."

Should the new types of U.S. nuclear weapons be deployed on the territory of a number of West European countries, these countries will be hostage to the most reactionary U.S. forces. Statesmen in the FRG and other states are trying in vain to hide this fact from their countries' peoples. But they should not calculate on being able to avoid responsibility if the U.S. military is given the "right" to use the new missiles.

Bourgeois politicians often resort to demagoguery and boast that they supposedly always honor democracy and respect the will of the people. Each day real life in capitalist states exposes them as liars. The majority of people in West European countries have already manifested one way or another their negative attitude to the new U.S. nuclear weapons (according to recent studies in the FRG, for example, 72 percent of people are against these missiles and 97 percent have spoken in favor of extending the Geneva talks.) Despite this, the British, West German, and Italian Governments are going ahead with preparations for the deployment of U.S. missiles on their countries' territory.

The leaders of some West European states, in order to somehow justify the dangerous course with regard to the new U.S. missiles and their capitulation in the face of pressure from Washington, accuse the Soviet Union of intentions which it has never had and does not have now. In this they even refer to critical statements by Karl Marx in respect of...Czarist Russia's rulers and shamelessly distort the quotations in the hope of misleading the public and striking a blow against the Soviet Union's high international prestige. But the situation has changed radically since 1917, since Great October. At that time, while the foreign policy of imperialist states remained essentially the same, Soviet Russia, with the Decree on Peace, established a new policy, a policy of peace, a policy of support for the people's struggle for independence and social progress, for the prevention of aggressive wars and destruction. Since that time the Leninist party and the Soviet state have firmly borne aloft the banner of peace.

The Soviet people have taken up the sword only when they have been forced to fight. Today, just as at the end of the thirties, the darkest forces of world reaction are again intending to march against the Soviet Union, against socialism. But they must not forget the stern lesson which the Soviet people taught war maniacs of a similar hue in the Great Patriotic War years.

It is not the Soviet Union that is trying to alter the existing equilibrium of forces in Europe. On the contrary, it is the United States that is intensively striving to advance its latest nuclear weapons systems to West Europe and the borders of the socialist states.

Anyone who gives the slightest thought to the consequences of the deployment of the new U.S. nuclear missiles in West Europe has to admit that the Pentagon is trying to take a decisive step toward attaining military-strategic superiority and is planning to create conditions for a surprise strike against the socialist community.

We cannot remain idle in the face of this adventurist policy on the part of the most reactionary circles of imperialism. The 28 May Soviet Government statement which points out that the Soviet Union and its allies will take retaliatory military steps if the NATO plans are implemented was published at the right time. Czechoslovakia welcomed it with understanding. We cannot sit with folded arms and watch the Pershing II missile bases being prepared just a few hundred or even tens of kilometers from our western borders.

Voices have again been heard from the NATO headquarters and Western propaganda centers asserting that it is a case of countering threats. No, the Warsaw Pact states are threatening no one. They are giving a timely warning that no one in West Europe or the other side of the Atlantic should cherish any illusions that they will not meet with retribution for the most terrible crime against humanity.

Despite the aggravation of the international situation, the socialist countries are convinced that the worst can be avoided. That is why they are continuing to develop their peace offensive. The joint statement by leading party and state figures of seven socialist states adopted at the conclusion of the 28 June Moscow meeting also serves as confirmation of that. This document confirms a number of important constructive proposals whose adoption would help to turn Europe into a continent of peace free of nuclear weapons, into a continent where all states would cooperate in the interests of their peoples' development and enhanced well-being.

Addressing the world assembly "For Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War," Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, stressed that the thesis "if you want peace -- prepare for war" is profoundly wrong, inhumane, and contrary to all historical experience. That is why the Prague assembly in its concluding appeal rightly called the preparation for nuclear war the gravest crime against humanity and urged all people of good will to prevent the year of 1983 from becoming the start of a new, morally dangerous twist to the arms race and the further intensification of confrontation.

The socialist countries' positions on these vitally important issues leave no room for any doubts. The most important task of the fraternal states' foreign policy has always been and remains the defense of peace and the safeguarding of peaceful conditions for building a new society. While struggling for these noble goals, at the same time they express the most vital aspirations of mankind.

Here we all know that the greatest responsibility in the defense of the socialist countries security and world peace rests on the Soviet Union's shoulders. The peoples of the socialist countries and the planet's progressive liberation and peace-loving forces highly prize the principled and at the same time considered policy of the Soviet Union. This was reaffirmed by the speeches of many of those taking part in the world assembly "For Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War."

We are convinced that the forthcoming weeks and months will bring new proof that the people's masses do not intend to leave the destiny of peace to chance, that they will fight selflessly for it. "The peoples are now coming to the front of the historical stage as never before...," Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has stated. "By their vigorous and purposeful actions they can avert the threat of nuclear war and safeguard peace and thus life on our planet."

In the present critical year, when the world is at the crossroads, the Warsaw Pact states' Prague Political Declaration, the 28 May Soviet Government statement, and the joint statement of the leading party and state figures of the seven socialist community countries clearly show the progressive and antiwar forces on the entire planet which path leads to death and which path to happiness and peace.

MOSCOW MARKS ROMANIAN LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

Party, State Greetings

PM231235 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 83 First Edition p 1

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania

Esteemed Conrades!

On the 39th anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke we send the RCP Central Committee, State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the country's communists and all its working people warm congratulations and best wishes.

On 23 August 1944, under the conditions of the Soviet Union's decisive victories in World War II and the Soviet Army's defeat of the fascist troops during the Yassy-Kishinev operation, the Romanian patriotic forces, headed by the communists, carried out an armed uprising and overthrew the military-fascist dictatorship, which opened up the way to democratic transformations on Romanian soil.

The new Romania, on the basis of all-around aid from the USSR and the other fraternal countries and close cooperation with them, traveled a great path in a historically brief period and achieved substantial successes in socioeconomic and cultural development. Soviet people sincerely rejoice in the Romanian people's achievements and the creation of a developed socialist society.

The Soviet Union invariably builds relations with Romania on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and steers a course towards the consolidation of friendship and the development of fruitful cooperation both bilaterally and within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, which accords with the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries.

Under the conditions of the present tense world situation caused by the growth of the aggressiveness of the policy of U.S. imperialist circles and their NATO allies, special importance attaches to the fraternal countries' unity and cohesion and their close collaboration in international affairs.

With the other socialist community states, the Soviet Union will build up its efforts to implement the program of actions aimed at eliminating the threat of war and easing international tension which was collectively elaborated at the Prague conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and at the Moscow meeting of leading party and state figures of seven socialist countries.

On their national holiday we wish the Romanian people new successes in socialist building and express the conviction that the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Romania will continue to develop for the benefit of the peoples of our countries, in the interests of socialism and peace.

CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers

Ustinov Greets Olteanu

PM231225 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 83 First Edition p 1

[Text] To Comrade Colonel General C. Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally I congratulate you and all soldiers of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania on your national holiday, the 39th anniversary of the country's liberation from fascist slavery.

The crushing of a major group of German fascist troops by the Soviet Army during the Yassy-Kishinev operation created favorable conditions for the implementation of the national armed uprising by Romanian patriots, led by the communists, on 23 August 1944 and for Romania's liberation from fascism. The building of a new life on Romanian soil was started.

The Soviet soldiers are pleased with the successes achieved by the Romanian people during the years of socialist building.

On the national holiday I wish all Romanian soldiers the further improvement of combat skill for the sake of strengthening the defense capability of their motherland and of the other Warsaw Pact member states.

With communist greetings,

Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov, USSR defense minister

Nuriyev, Koshoyev at Meeting

LD221838 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 22 Aug 83

[Excerpt] A festive meeting of representatives of working people was held in Moscow today to mark the 39th anniversary of the liberation of Romania from the fascist yoke. Taking part in the meeting were Comrade Koshoyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Nuriyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; other officials; and a delegation of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Society.

U.S. PLAN TO MODERNIZE GREENLAND RADAR SCORED

LD231933 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] Copenhagen August 23 TASS -- The Pentagon is planning to modernize the network of its radar stations in Greenland. A statement to this effect was made at the press conference of Denmark's Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen in the island's administrative centre Godthaab. Greenland's Prime Minister Jonathan Motzfeldt reaffirmed that his government had been informed about the intention of the USA to build a new radar station and other military installations in Fiskenaesset are (150 kilometres south of Godthaab).

The dangerous plans of the U.S. military have aroused indignation among the inhabitants of the island. Hans Pavia Rosing, member of the Landsting (parliament) of Greenland, president of the International Organization of Eskimos of Greenland, Alaska and Canada, said that the widening of U.S. military presence in Greenland runs counter to the resolution, which was recently adopted by the third session of the conference of Eskimos of the regions along the Polar Circle demanding that the Arctic be declared a nuclear-free zone. He stressed that a strengthening of the interest of the Americans in the island is conducive to a heightening of tensions in the Arctic region.

U.S. ENVOY TO FRANCE TERMED 'OVERT PROPAGANDIST'

LD231909 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Robert Serebrennikov writes:

Evan Galbraith, the ambassador of the USA in Paris, a former banker, quite originally understands diplomatic ethics, traditions and norms of international intercourse. The latest example of that has been provided by an article written by the White House emissary on the banks of the Seine for the French newspaper LA CROIX. In the article he assumed the task of an overt propagandist of a speeded-up deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

By intimidating the reader with a mythical "Soviet threat", Galbraith asserts that the USSR allegedly continues to build up its military potential in order to terrorise Europe and achieve domination over it.

He proclaims that the earliest deployment of "Pershing-2" and cruise missiles is the only salvation for Western Europe. Ignoring the just and realistic Soviet proposals in the field of reducing and limiting nuclear arms in Europe, the high-ranking U.S. diplomat asserts that to hope for a success of the Geneva talks is a serious illusion and naivete.

Galbraith also attacked the participants in the mass anti-war, anti-missiles movement in the West, and alleged that they are maintained by Moscow. It is with indignation that he refers to the advocates of a freeze on nuclear arsenals who reflect the striving for peace of millions of people of all countries, including the USA, of course.

It is not for the first time that the U.S. ambassador in France unceremoniously violates elementary norms of diplomatic ethics, and interferes in the internal affairs of the accreditation country. Suffice it to recall that Paris has repeatedly pointed out the "irrelevance" of his pronouncements which affect the national sovereignty of France. Well, as is seen, the lesson has taught nothing.

By publishing an article in LA CROIX, the U.S. diplomat again acts rather as a Pentagon emissary or as an authorised representative of the USIA, Washington's main propagandist agency which wages "psychological warfare" against the USSR and other socialist countries.

Moreover, the U.S. ambassador in France also engages in political instigation by imposing upon West European countries a course of confrontation with socialist countries in international relations. He does not conceal his nostalgia for cold war which, he maintains, never really broke off.

Galbraith's article in the French newspaper confirms that the Reagan Administration, not reckoning with the arguments of realistically-minded people, presses for deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe at all costs, and for the conversion of West European countries into nuclear hostages, and of their territories into a theater of a "limited" nuclear war.

However, falsifications cannot conceal on obvious fact: The U.S. policy of feverishly building up armaments with a view to achieving military superiority leads to breaking international stability, to a new cycle of the nuclear arms race. It is precisely such a policy that poses a threat to the peoples of Europe and other continents.

DUTCH DECLINE TO JOIN U.S. CARIBBEAN MANEUVERS

LD231911 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] The Hague August 23 TASS - Holland has declined to become an accomplice in the United States' military and political provocation with regard to Nicaragua.

According to a report of the Dutch news agency ANP, the Netherlands Ministry of Defence has issured an instruction to the Dutch frigate "Van Nes" which is the Caribbean area not to take part in the U.S.-undertaken provocative operation which is being held near the shores of Nicaragua within the framework of naval exercises with the participation of forces of NATO countries.

According to U.S. strategists' plans, several ships are to separate during the exercises from the main forces and to blockade Nicaragua.

The decision of the Netherlands Ministry of Defence reflects the discontent which has been repeatedly expressed in Holland, including that at an official level, over the dangerous policy which is being effected by the USA in Central America.

BELGIAN OFFICIAL ACCUSED OF ECONOMIC ESPIONAGE

NC211152 Paris AFP in English 1148 GMT 21 Aug 83

[Text] Brussels, Aug 21 (AFP) -- One Soviet and two Romanian diplomats will be among several foreigners to be expelled in an economic espionage scandal, Belgian television said today.

Belgian Foreign Ministry Director for European Affairs, Eugene Michiels, aged 60, was arrested last week for spying for a foreign power.

Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans would not give any details today other than that several other diplomats would be asked to "leave urgently".

A Foreign Ministry spokesman would neither confirm nor deny the television report. Mr Tindemans said Mr Michiels, who was in charge of economic relations with European Community and Communist bloc countries, spied for money, "not out of political ideology."

The scandal was revealed yesterday by the daily DE MORGEN which said five diplomats would be expelled.

Belgium does not normally officially announce expulsions of foreign diplomats to avoid reprisals against its own people, particularly in Warsaw Pact countries.

Romanians, Soviet Expelled

NC221528 Paris AFP in English 1501 GMT 22 Aug 83

[Text] Brussels, Aug. 22 (AFP) -- Belgium has expelled five Eastern Europeans for espionage following the arrest of a high-ranking Foreign Ministry official, the public prosecutor confirmed here today.

A spokesman for the prosecutor's office said four of the five were diplomats and were expelled from Belgium last week. Eugene Michiels, 60, a Belgian Foreign Ministry official, was arrested last week and charged with corrupting officials and stealing documents, the spokesman added.

He said Mr. Michiels had headed the Foreign Ministry's "common market internal relations service" and had access to documents [passage indistinct]. One Soviet and three Romanian diplomats, as well as a Romanian embassy employee, had been expelled for espionage.

Meanwhile, the Romanian Embassy in Brussels today denied that any Romanian diplomats had been expelled for espionage.

But authoritative Foreign Ministry sources here confirmed a television report that four Romanians and a Soviet diplomat had been expelled from Belgium.

A Romanian Embassy spokesman called the reports a "serious provocation" and said they were totally without basis in fact.

The Soviet Embassy said it "knew nothing" of the incident.

BRIEFS

FINNISH MARINES VISIT USSR -- Headquarters and logistics ship "Louhi" and fast attack missile crafts "Tuuli" and "Tyrsky" today began their 4-day visit to Riga in the Soviet Union. The unit left the naval base of Pansio last night and is to return on Saturday. The visit is led by Captain Juha Tikka. Some 140 marines are participating in the visit. [Text] [Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 0930 GMT 23 Aug 83 LD]

RSFSR MINISTER SPEAKS ON PALESTINIAN ISSUE

LD231816 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS -- The efforts for a Middle East settlement are a component part of the struggle for peace all over the world, said Vladimir Vinogradov, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation who heads the Soviet Coordination Committee for Preparations for an International Conference on the Issue of Palestine. Addressing a press conference here today, he said that the heart of the Middle East crisis is the Palestinian problem. The aim of the forthcoming forum is to draw to that problem world public attention, draw up recommendations and discuss methods for resolving that vital problem, Vinogradov pointed out.

The convocation of the conference in Geneva late this month, he said, was preceded by a number of regional conferences on the Palestinian problem. The participants in those meetings, representing more than 120 countries, have drawn important conclusions, including the conclusion about the need for the speediest settlement of the Palestinian issue, the impossibility of a Middle East settlement without meeting the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to the creation of their own state and without the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967.

It was also pointed out at the regional conferences that no talks on that problem can be held without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The task of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva forum, V. Vinogradov pointed out, is to expose the intrigues of the enemies of peace in the region, the American plans for a so-called Palestinian "settlement" conducive to enslaving that area by the Americans and establishing Israel's dominating position for an unlimited time. At the same time we intend to recall the well-known stand of the Soviet Union on that issue, which provides for a just and comprehensive Middle East settlment, without infringing upon the interests of any people.

The head of the Soviet delegation pointed in conclusion to the need for consolidating the ranks of the Arab countries and outlining a common stand on a settlment of the Middle East conflict and of the Palestinian problem.

PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETS IN TUNISIA

LD240847 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 24 Aug 83

[Text] Tunisia August 24 TASS -- A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation was held here. The meeting, chaired by Yasir 'Arafat, discussed the situation in the Middle East, the unity of the Palestinian resistance movement and the ways for stepping up of the Palestinian struggle on the Israeli-occupied Arab territories. The meeting endorsed the make-up of a PLO delegation to the international conference on Palestine to be held in Geneva on August 29-September 7.

REBELS KILL TWO SOVIET MINERS IN MOZAMBIQUE

AB240950 Paris AFP in French 0931 GMT 24 Aug 83

[Excerpt] Maputo, 24 Aug (AFP) -- Official Soviet diplomatic sources confirmed in Maputo on Wednesday that two Soviet technicians were killed and 24 others were kidnapped on Sunday in a mine in the Zambeze Province (in the center of the country) during an attack launched by the guerrillas of the National Resistance Movement (MNR) supported by South Africa.

It was specified that the attack was made on the mine of precious stones at Morra in Gile Region 1,200 kms northeast of Maputo. Several Mozambicans were reported to have been killed or kidnapped during the counterattack by the Mozambican Army.

IZVESTIYA'S BOVIN VIEWS CHAD SITUATION

PM231206 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 83 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA political observer A. Bovin under the rubric "Problems and Opinions": "Chad -- A Critical Time"]

[Text] Events in the Republic of Chad are at a critical phase. It is an either or situation. Either French forces -- with American backing -- become openly involved in combat with rather unpredictable consequences. Or the entire situation swings in the direction of talks, of a quest for a political solution of the problem. "Mixed" options are possible, of course. But in any case, interference by outside forces can only exacerbate and prolong the conflict which has already been going on for nearly 20 years anyway.

I will remind you of a few facts. The civil war in Chad began in the mid-sixties. Religious and ethnic contradictions provided the mainspring. Like many other African states Chad has a very heterogeneous population. In the south it borders on Black Africa. It is there that the farming tribes -- pagans or ones who have adopted Catholicism -- live. The north is more inclined toward the Arab world. It is populated mainly by nomadic Muslim tribes.

After independence -- obtained in August 1960 -- representatives of the south, who had had close links in the past with the French colonial administration, came to power in the new republic. Their policy was clearly anti-Arab and anti-Muslim. And the north mounted a struggle. The insurgents made two main demands. First, recognition of the Muslim Arab population as an equal, integral party of the country, including participation in organs of power and government. Second, less dependence on the former imperial center.

In those days the current rivals -- G. Oueddei and H. Habre -- were working together in the Chad National Liberation Front (Frolinat). Naturally, they were supported by the Arabs and, above all, Libya. Naturally also, the then head of the republic, F. Tombalbaye, France's stooge, had the military backing of the French. However, the rebel movement was not smashed, it grew and gathered strength.

The situation changed markedly in the mid-seventies. On the one hand the top people in the Army staged a coup on 13 April 1975. Tombalbaye was killed. A supreme Military Council headed by General F. Malloum took over power. The council announced a policy of national conciliation and tried to achieve mutual understanding between the government and the rebels. On the other hand, it was at approximately at that time that relations between G. Oueddei and H. Habre began to deteriorate. The latter opposed what he believed to be excessive reliance on Libya and gradually went over to the idea of cooperation with the former colonialists. The conflict which had grown out of religious and ethnic strife, increasingly developed into a clash between different social and political interests.

As a result it became much more difficult to find compromises. For it was necessary to "reconcile" not only the government and the rebels but also rebel groupings at odds with one another. There began a long series of talks interspersed with military actions. In August 1978 F. Malloum and H. Habre signed the so-called "fundamental charter." Habre became prime minister. However, the Frolinat Revolution Council, headed by Oueddei continued the armed struggle. Finally, in August 1979 an agreement was signed in Lagos by all the military-political groupings involved in the conflict. A transitional Government of National Unity was set up on 10 November. It was headed by G. Oueddei. H. Habre became defense minister.

It seemed that an atmosphere had been created for putting a stop to the internecine strife. That is what the war-torn country was expecting. But the fragile agreement was blown apart by Habre's excessive ambition and his now clearly defined Western orientation. In March 1980 the defense minister launched an armed revolt against his own premier. [as published] The G. Oueddei government, which had not yet consolidated itself, was forced to ask Libya for military aid. Habre was defeated and left the country.

The Transitional Government of National Unity tried to organize a peaceful life, restore the economy and strengthen Chad's independence. And Habre? With the backing of Sudan, Egypt and the United States he rearmed his military detachments and massed them on the Chadian-Sudanese border. In November 1981 the Libyan forces quit Chad. Not long after, Habre mounted an offensive. The inter-African forces which were supposed to replace the Libyan forces effectively refrained from helping the Transitional Government of National Unity. On 7 June 1982 Habre entered Ndjamena and then proclaimed himself president of Chad.

"The causes of our defeat," G. Oueddei told the Chadian people, "are the profound contradictions which paralyzed the government machine and prevented it from undertaking coordinated actions at all levels.... Our retreat is also due to our weak activity in the sphere of mobilizing the people's masses.... Moreover, our departure from Ndjamena is the result of a lack of ideological doctrine to help us overcome artificial splits, unite the Chadian masses and also to decide who is a friend and who is an enemy. All this enabled imperialism, utilizing its strongpoints in Africa, to weave a conspiracy against our people, against the Chadian revolution." At present, the Transitional Government's president [predsedatel] stressed, there exist two opposing camps in the country: the camp of reaction and national destruction which is represented by the Habre regime and is supported by imperialism, and the camp which brings together the progressive and patriotic forces united around the Transitional Government of National Unity.

This was said in April 1983. In June the Transitional Government forces, which had pulled back into Chad's northern regions following their defeat, mounted an offensive. Judging by the correlation of forces, Habre was doomed. Realizing this he asked his foreign patrons for help. There began a new stage of the struggle whose chief and most dangerous feature is the growing internationalization of the conflict and the growing involvement of outside forces, primarily the United States and France, in it.

The Americans have already sent two AWACS aircraft to Sudan to observe the theater of hostilities. Some 8 F-15 aircraft have been supplied to cover them. They were later joined by a special reconnaissance aircraft whose job is to monitor radio communications between Libyan aircraft. There are more than 750 U.S. servicemen in Sudan to service the aircraft. A group of U.S. warships, including the aircraft carrier "Eisenhower," has been assembled off the Libyan coast. There are regular deliveries of U.S. military hardware and equipment to Ndjamena.

The behavior of the United States fits perfectly into the White House's general policy which is to strengthen the U.S. military presence wherever possible. Suffice it to say that 43 percent of the U.S. Army is stationed outside the United States.

Official motive cited by the administration in this case is to counteract "Libyan aggression." Washington asserts that if the Oueddei government, which is backed by the radical Libyan regime, is reinstated in Chad, this will destabilize the situation in central and west Africa. The United States, of course, wants stability and is prepared to send U.S. aircraft and U.S. instructors overseas for the sake of this stability.

At the same time, even R. Reagan is aware that -- particularly against the background of his adventures in Central America -- a new military adventure in Chad, which even the richest imagination would find difficult to justify on the grounds of U.S. security interests, could be very damaging for the White House. Therefore, as a kind of political alibi, the following theses are put forward: We are operating in central Africa in what you might call a support role [na podkhvate]; we are not going to fight in Chad, the main leading role is being played there by France; we expect France to take decisive action.

For example, here is an excerpt from the record of the U.S. President's meeting with the press:

"Question: Will the United States let Chad fall into the hands of Al-Qadhdhafi and the Libyans just to avoid interfering in its affairs?

"Answer: As I have pointed out before, basically this is not our sphere of influence. It is France's sphere of influence. We continue to be in constant contact with the French, but I do not envisage a situation which would require U.S. military intervention there."

By "yielding" central Africa to France the U.S. President is displaying a generosity which is by no means typical of the White House. But there is self-interest in this generosity. Obsessed by the anti-Libyan syndrome, the Americans want to make France fight for U.S. interests.

And what about France. Its position is rather tantalizing. Everyone remembers how F. Mitterrand sharply criticized V. Giscard d'Estaing's African policy, opposed neo-colonialism and opposed French armed interference in African countries' affairs. "Presence yes, interference no!" the French president proclaimed. Moreover, to be associating with the Americans and even pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for them is a highly dubious pleasure. Especially as Paris is unlikely to want to break off relations with Tripoli.

These facts make Paris somewhat restrained and wary. But there are facts and people which have been and still are pushing France in another direction.

Let the paper LE MATIN which is close to the government, speak: "Neither the Elysee Palace nor the Quai d'Orsay is particularly sympathetic toward Hissein Habre. They are rather scared of him, they expect various nasty surprises from him and they regard him as a difficult and unreliable partner. So it was by no means for Habre's benefit that French paratroops were sent to Chad. It was all a question of France's prestige in Africa and in the world at large. Not to come to the aid of a government with which France has treaties when it is threatened by a neighboring country, Libya, is a failure to observe one's obligation and it means a loss of prestige among the African countries.... One thing is perfectly clear to F. Mitterrand just as it was yesterday to V. Giscard d'Estaing or G. Pompidou: Without a network of special friendly ties in Africa, France will lose its positions in the world arena and cease to be a great power. It will just be like the FRG or Italy. F. Mitterrand cannot let that happen to France."

If that had been said at the end of the 19th century one could accept LE MATIN's logic as undeniable. Certainly, France has great economic and political interests in Africa. Certainly, the governments of some French-speaking countries, feeling rather insecure, are not opposed to having French paratroops as a sound rear guard.

But we are living at the end of the 20th century. The performance of gendarme functions may bring certain dividends. But if one takes a broader view of the problem, if one sees the main trends of political development and if one considers the people's growing self-awareness, then the only possible correct conclusion one can draw is that anyone who wants to enhance his "prestige" by interfering in other states' affairs will end up back where he started. This applies equally to the United States and to France.

Paris' decision was undoubtedly influenced by another factor which has already been referred to -- the massive pressure from the Americans. Although it is true that the French are doing their utmost to demonstrate their independence. When the French minister of external relations was asked -- are the Americans interfering in Chad on their own initiative or is this being done by agreement with us? -- C. Cheysson replied: "Look, why not ask them why they are interfering? It is perfectly clear that this is not being done by agreement with us. We are not submitting to the Americans' will...."

However, the minister's decisive tone is at odds with political practice. By verbally dissociating themselves from the Americans the French behaved the way Washington wanted. The number of French soldiers in Chad is growing. French combat aircraft are expected to arrive. True, the French national defense minister said that "any French involvement in direct military action is still ruled out." But events have their own logic which may prove to be stronger than the minister's words....

It is worth mentioning another aspect. If Washington is unhappy about the indecision of the French, Paris is irritated by the Americans' importunity. Plus the fact that Paris suspects Washington, despite the "generosity" mentioned above, of wanting to push France out of Africa, which, incidentally, is an added stimulus to French activity designed to consolidate the French "presence" on the African Continent.

Now Libya's position. It has never disguised the fact that it is aiding the national liberation movement in Chad. Habre received aid until he changed his political orientation. It is clear too that Libya's security greatly depends on the situation in the neighboring country. It is no accident that Libyan representatives have been participating, with the consent of all the warring sides, in attempts to find a solution to the civil war.

At the same time, Libya resolutely rejects allegations about "Libyan intervention" in Chad. In a U.S. television interview M. al-Qadhdhafi said: "Libya has no forces in Chad. We...occupy a position of neutrality vis-a-vis the Chad problem."

Recently many rumors have surfaced about "initiatives" intended to put an end to the conflict in Chad. The paper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS does not rule out the de facto partition of the country into two parts -- north and south. It is an interesting fact that the French paratroops have taken up positions approximately on the line of possible partition. It has been reported that since Paris is fed up with Habre, France intends to use its forces to replace the ruling clique in Ndjamena and thus ease the way to a compromise. Newspapers have written about secret diplomatic contacts between France and Libya. They also write that H. Habre is opposed to talks with G. Oueddei.

However you view the rumors, the picture, generally speaking, is extremely confused. The conflict in Chad continues. The situation is, I repeat, critical. Outside interference, especially military interference, can only tighten the knot of contradictions -- and not just in Chad.

FRENCH 'COLONIAL SCENARIO' IN CHAD SCOFFED

PM240947 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 83 Morning Edition p 4

[M. Zubko "Rejoinder": "According to a Colonial Scenario"]

[Text] Early on the morning of 23 August the world news agencies broadcast new reports from Chad: General Jean Poli had arrived in the country's capital, Ndjamena, with the task of commanding the French paratroops; detachments belonging to the Habre regime have already managed to ask him to take a direct part in the hostilities against subunits of the Transitional Government of National Unity headed by G. Oueddei.

Officially, the paratroops are acting as "instructors" in Chad, but newspapers in France, Britain, and other countries assert that they have been ordered to shoot "if they are attacked." A cunning cover for interventionist actions, there's no denying! Paris obviously reckons that when the paratroops go into the attack it will be difficult to prove who has attacked whom. But frankly, these are naive calculations. Even the experience which General Poli has acquired in Paris' colonial adventures in Indochina and Algeria will not help to conceal the truth.

Incidentally, some people in the French capital prefer not to remember how the colonial wars against the peoples of Indochina and Algeria ended. But it will do them no good...

FRENCH 'INTERFERENCE' IN CHAD ECONOMIC MOTIVE

PM230906 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Aug 83 p 3

[Commentary by international commentator G. Dadyants: "Storm Clouds Over Ndjamena"]

[Text] The sound of Transall aircraft engines has entered the life of Ndjamena. In a 24-hour period the aircraft take off and land at least 30 times to transfer soldiers, military hardware, weapons... from the Central African Republic or to the front. Operation Manta appears to be assuming proportions similar to the great fish which is found in the Red Sea and from which the operation takes its name...

This is how the newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS describes the situation which has taken shape in Chad. Led us recall that, under a 1976 agreement, French military personnel cannot take direct part in military operations in that country. Paris maintains that France is adhering scrupulously to the terms of that agreement. However, how are we to view the mass dispatch of French paratroops to Chad? According to the press, it is intended to raise the number of so-called "instructors" to 3,000 men. Everything points to the fact that now the number of French "teachers" surpasses the number of Chad "students," LE MATIN says.

In response to the appeal by H. Habre, head of the current Chadian regime, for additional military aid, France decided to send Jaguar and Mirage warplanes to Ndjamena. According to specialists, the buildup of military might in Chad is France's largest military operation in Africa since the Algerian war.

France's actual interference in Chad's affairs, of course, continues to be concealed behind a screen of talk about "noninterference." Immediately on arrival in Ndjamena, LE FIGARO attests, the "French paratroops" attach to their left sleeve a small emblem of the French flag bearing the words "instructors' detachment." After this, the newspaper adds not without irony, "nobody will dare allege that these subunits which are assault units, are flying off to the front ... It is becoming increasingly difficult to hide the truth."

Why does the French Government continue to interfere in the civil war in Chad?

The interference is officially justified by the need to "deter" the mythical "Libyan forces" which are allegedly fighting on the side of the forces of Goukouni Oueddei's transitional government. But nobody has seen these "Libyan forces", indeed, nobody wants to have a proper look, though Goukoni Oueddei and Libyan leader Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi have invited Western representatives to acquaint themselves with the situation on the spot.

AP correspondent in Paris (G. Makartur) writes quite openly about the reasons for the French interference in Chad. "The French have important economic interests in this part of the world which they must protect -- huge hydroelectric power stations in the Republic of the Ivory Coast, railroads in Nigeria, copper mines, diamond mines, and other mineral extracting enterprises which are being built with France's help in various parts of the African Continent. Former French Africa buys $2 billions' worth more annually from than it sells to France."

"France," an ABC correspondent echoes, "is returning to Africa because its economic interests on that continent make this necessary and also because of the damage to its prestige.... This time, by all accounts, it will stay there for a long time."

Some French press organs justifying France's present actions in Chad, try to present matters as though France had no alternative to interference -- otherwise its policy would have produced an "unfavorable impression" on the so-called "moderate" (that is pro-Western) African countries and would have made it possible for Washington to assume the role of active patron and helper of African countries -- a role traditionally assumed by Paris.

Indeed, the French Government is under constant pressure -- from the pro-Western African regimes, from right-wing neocolonialist forces within France itself, and primarily from Washington. The Americans, of course, have as much interest as the French in Africa's riches. "It is perfectly obvious," J.P. Chevenement, former minister of state for research and industry, said, "that France now has a competitor in West Africa: That competitor is America, which is displaying overt interest in what was traditionally considered a zone of French influence." The whole issue is whether, by interfering in the civil war in Chad, France is fighting against its rival rival or actively helping it. It is not working "for the king of Prussia" [i.e. for nothing] as the old French proverb says?

It is no secret to anybody that it was Washington which showed particular impatience when there was a change unfavorable to Habre's current pro-Western regime in the civil war in Chad. It was Washington which pressured France to send troops to Chad as rapidly as possible. President Reagan openly voiced his dissatisfaction at the French Government's "delay." "The whole trouble," THE WASHINGTON POST wrote provocatively, inciting France to military interference in Chad, "is that F. Mitterrand's socialist government has still not completely abandoned its pose of reluctance to accept "neocolonialism" -- a pose it adopted during the long years of political oblivion."

While demanding that France assume a "leading role" in the imperialist interference in Chad's affairs, the Americans at the same time sent their own AWACS systems to that region and mounted military demonstrations on the borders of Libya.

French Minister of External Relations C. Cheysson says that France is acting completely independently in Chad, without any consultations with Washington. However, a State Department spokesman repudiates these statements, saying that "this is not so at all; such consultations have been held."

The question automatically arises: which is more important to Washington in "operation Chad": to preserve President Habre's pro-Western regime in that country, or to compromise the socialist government of France by imperialist interference in the affairs of an independent African country?

The LE MONDE newspaper writes that President F. Mitterrand is "annoyed" at the constant U.S. attempts to pressure it in the Chad conflict. The newspaper believes that there are U.S.-French differences as regards the "tactics employed in, the analysis of, and the motives for" the interference in Chad's affairs. According to the author of the LE MONDE article, F. Mitterrand's aim is to "prevent the expansion of the conflict, which could develop into an East-West conflict, and make it possible for the French to avoid an unnecessary war."

Meanwhile, the so-called French "instructors" in Chad have been engaged in "defense" along the front line, stating that they will be forced to "defend themselves" if Goukouni Oueddei's forces approach.

The French public are concerned that the French Government is giving in to American blackmail and meddling in Chad's affairs. Some 53 percent of those questioned in a public opinion poll in France did not approve of the dispatch of French paratroops to Chad.

The imperialist powers' interference in the internal affairs of African peoples arouses indignation on the Black Continent too. As Congolese Foreign Minister P. Nze, said, "this is neither a French nor a U.S. affair. The Chadians themselves must settle their own differences: if they cannot do so, let them appeal to the OAU rather than involve powers which would like to preserve their own strategic positions in this region."

The storm clouds over Ndjamena must be dispersed.

LEADING SOCIOLOGIST RESPONDS TO CRITICISMS

PM241006 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Aug 83 First Edition p 1

[Article by Prof Kh. Momdzhan, chairman of the Soviet Sociological Association, under the "Specialist's Opinion" rubric: "Analyzing Life"]

[Text] I remember how some years ago at the Ninth International Sociological Association Congress, which was held in the small Swedish City of Uppsala, our delegation had to "cross swords" with the well-known Western sociologist (Alen Turen). He stated that there is no sociological science in the Soviet Union and that it will not develop. Our scientists' speeches refuted this utterly absurd claim. The skeptics were even more shamefaced when a session of the International Sociological Association Executive Committee was held in Tbilisi and they saw with their own eyes how widespread sociological research is in our country.

Our life is naturally becoming more complex -- the developed socialist society is itself a most complex organism. Trying to direct it without scientific analysis and forecasting, solely from a commonsense standpoint, is futile. Only scientifically substantiated assessments, descriptions, and recommendations can promote successful onward development. And it is understandable why the interest in and need for concrete sociological research is growing in the country literally each year. Sociological institutes are appearing in components of the party and state apparatuses, and sociological services are being created in enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. The Soviet sociologists' association now numbers about 1,000 collectives and almost 8,000 individual members in its ranks. Seventeen republic and regional sections -- in Kiev, Minsk, Vilnius, Tallinn, Tbilisi, and other republic capitals, and in Siberia and the Urals -- are operating.

The sociological research council of the Bashkir CPSU Obkom is doing interesting work. An object of consistent study here is topical problems of ideological work. And it has to be acknowledged that in certain of its aspects, for example, in the system of political and economic education, the effectiveness of propaganda activity has increased. Social experiments as a sociological research method is being increasingly introduced into the work practice of the party committees of Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, and Ivanovo Oblasts and the Komi ASSR. In Inanovo Oblast they have found, with the direct participation of sociologists, a new organizational form of ideological work: Deputy secretaries for ideological-political, labor, and moral education have been introduced in party committees and bureaus in order to achieve better practical leadership. And this has borne fruit. Research carried out some time ago showed first, that the range of Communists participating in social and party work has substantially expanded and their activeness has grown, and second, that many production collectives have begun working under the slogan "Work Without Laggards." And the main thing is that comprehensive teams working on a single job order and using the labor input coefficient have begun to be created on a different qualitiative level. There are many enterprises in the country where sociologists have shown themselves to be really reliable assistants to economic and party leaders and where their advice and constructive proposals are being introduced into the practice of social management. For example, there is Moscow's "Krasniy Proletarity" Plant, Leningrad's "Svetlana" Association, the "Volzhskiy Avtomobilnyy Zavod," and many others.

It is impossible not only to describe but even to enumerate merely the cardinal avenues of sociologists' activity within the confines of a newspaper article. Today there is virtually no sphere of any significance which does not become the object of sociological study. However, this certainly does not give us the right to consider that everything is fine.

The severe but fair criticism of social scientists and, in particular, of sociologists' leading organization -- the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute -- which was voiced from the rostrum at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum indicates that our sociological science still has a large debt to pay to society. Petty themes, the absence of fundamental research into vital problems of social development, the weak connection between the work of scientists and the need of practice, and the very small number of state and party resolutions adopted on the basis of sociologists' recommendations are our main troubles.

It has to be admitted that science has still not suggested to practice ways of resolving a number of cardinal problems which are hampering further economic and social development. How can production efficiency be raised and the quality of output improved? On what scientifically substantiated principles should price formation be based? Life is constantly presenting more and more new questions, but we are in no hurry to give answers to them.

Unfortunately it has to be acknowledged that the hopes and expectations placed in sociologists in the field of elaborating methods and means for achieving short-term and long-term goals have not been justified. This is principally explained by the insufficiently concrete character of our proposals and recommendations and by their insufficient promptness and constructiveness. After all, to record the existence of a particular problem, even on a scientific basis, is only half the work. Once you are in possession of accumulated empirical material it is important to generalize it theoretically and to formulate measures assisting the real resolution of these problems.

Let us be frank: There are scientists who do not even provide materials to make it possible to establish patterns and determine trends in the evolution of the most important social processes of modern social development. One can -- with full justification -- blame the sociologists themselves for the subsequent situation. Naturally, it is we ourselves who are primarily guilty. But the argument that there are things which are not within our power is also not without foundation.

In the first instance the question arises of the status of sociological science, its provision with cadres, and its facilities. If you compare the situation obtaining in an adjoining sphere, that of economic science, then the difference here is most considerable. Economists have a whole network of various kinds of state organizations engaged in the study and management of the phenomena and processes occurring in this sphere and a multitude of educational institutions training different kinds of specialists. Sociology does not have even one-one hundredth of all this at its disposal. And the main thing is that there is no coherent system of training sociologist cadres for the secondary and higher level. The existence of faculties in certain of the country's state universities and of departments in a few universities of Marxism-Leninism under party obkoms confirms yet again the vital need for these kinds of specialists, but does not resolve the problem as a whole.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education explains this abnormal situation by saying that as the educational specialism of "sociologist" has not been approved, there are correspondingly neither programs nor educational textbooks for this discipline. But it is permissible to ask why the ministry will not raise the question with the corresponding bodies.

One sometimes hears that specialization in scientific communism and historical materialism at the philosophical faculty makes the training of sociologists superfluous. But concrete sociological research has its own specific nature, and to master it requires special and purposeful training.

The creation of a state sociology service also presupposes the legitimized implementation of all its proposals and recommendations. The resolution of the social problems of an enterprise or a region must not be the prerogative of an individual leader with modern ideas, as often happens today. Even in those places where a sociology service operates, for example as part of an enterprise's personnel roster, the sociologists' recommendations are far from always carried out. Naturally much depends on the quality of these recommendations and their scientific substantiation. But there are also instances where good, sensible recommendations by sociologists have not received the attention of economic leaders, ministries, and departments.

A considerable number of acute problems have come to a head in society which cannot be resolved without scientific intervention. One cardinal problem is the raising of labor productivity. This question has both economic and social aspects. The finding of a scientific explanation of the factors hampering the growth of labor productivity and the formulating of effective measures to overcome them constitute a task of exceptionally great significance.

The processes taking place within the social structure of society in the demographic field and the problems of improving national relations, developing socialist democracy, and strengthening the family require sociological study. It is important, for example, to research the origins of alcoholism and other forms of deviant behavior, which also directly influence economic development. Without reliable information obtained by sociologists -- and this came out clearly at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum -- it is scarcely possible to direct ideological processes successfully.

Soviet sociologists realize how serious are the conclusions to be drawn from the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum's resolution. It is a matter of transforming sociology into an instrument for strict scientific analysis of diverse spheres of our society's social life and the elaboration of valid recommendations and measures to implement the vital tasks of developing the country.

COMPARISON OF CPSU DEPARTMENT CHIEF APPOINTMENT

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 21 August carries in its First Edition on page 2 an unattributed report concerning the appointment of the new chief of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department. The Pravda Report, entitled "In the CPSU Central Committee, has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Service Russian version published in the 22 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page R 2, revealing the following variations:

Only paragraph, first line of PRAVDA version reads:...appointment of Comrade V. A. Medvedev as head of...(Supplying initials)

USSR DEPUTY POWER MINISTER GRANTS INTERVIEW

PM180956 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Aug 83 First Edition p 2

[Interview with M.V. Borisov, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification, granted to unnamed correspondent under the rubric "We Relate at the Request of Readers": "The Energy Program in Action"]

[Text] In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum Comrade Yu.V. Andropov called the USSR long-term energy program a major document of long-term significance, a kind of GOELRO [state commission for the electrification of Russia; established 1920] plan under modern conditions. Electricity generation is one of the constituents of this program. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's readers are interested in its achievements and development prospects.

Our correspondent met with Mikhail Vasilyevich Borisov, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

Question: From what starting points has the country's electricity generation entered the new stage of its development?

Answer: These points can be described as quite strong. Over the past 30 years electricity generation in the country has increased more than 1,300 percent. In 1982 1,258.5 billion kilowatt-hours were generated.

Collectives of enterprises, construction projects, and organizations in the sector have done much work to build up generation capacities.

Power units have been commissioned at the Chernobyl, Smolensk, South Ukrainian, Kola, and Rovno AES's. A further three units at the Ekibastuz GRES-1 and a unique power unit with a capacity of 1.2 million kilowatts at the Kostroma GRES have started working. Powerful new units -- the 250,000-kilowatt units at the 25th and 23d TETS's of the Moscow Regional Power Administration and at the southern TETS of the Leningrad Regional Power Administration -- are giving the population heat and light. The new capacities include the third and fourth turbines of the Kurpsay GES, the first unit of Shamkhor GES, and four turbines of the Dnestr hydroengineering complex.

High-voltage (750 kilovolts) power transmission lines have been built to convey the electricity generated to the consumers; from the Chernobyl AES to Vinnitsa and from the Kurst AES to Metallurgicheskaya. The Ekibastuz GRES has been linked with Omsk and Zeya with Khabarovsk by 500-kilovolts power transmission lines. The completion of the construction of the superhigh-voltage (1,150 kilovolts) power line in the Ekibastuz-Kokchetav sector is a remarkable fact.

Power workers also take a lively part in resolving the food problem. Given the continuous increase in the electric power available to labor on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, increasing demands are being made on the reliability of rural electricity networks. What is being done for this? Work has been carried out to provide rural consumers with a standby power supply, to replace overloaded transformers, and to rig up automatic devices. Approximately 100,000 km of rural electricity networks have been built. Of course, all this is important in not only the economic but also the social respect.

Question: What are the further prospects for the sector's development? in the current, 11th 5-Year Plan in particular?

Answer: In 1985 it is planned to generate 1.55-1.6 trillion kilowatt-hours of electricity -- which is 20 percent above the 1980 level. This is the target. In order to fulfill it it is necessary to commission more than 60 million kilowatts of new power capacities.

I will not tire readers by enumerating all the new construction sites. I will merely point out that construction of the first stage of the Ignalina AES -- two power units with a capacity of 1.5 million kilowatts -- is to be completed in the current 5-year plan. The Ekibastuz GRES-1 will start working at its full capacity of 4 million kilowatts. The capacity of the thermal electric power stations of the Tyumen energy complex will be increased to 5.5 million kilowatts. The capacity of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES will reach the mark of 5.2 million kilowatts (its planned capacity is 6.4 million kilowatts) and so forth.

Not just the quantitative but also the qualitative aspect of the matter is important to us. Thus, water storage stations are being constructed at Zagorsk and at Kayshyador (Lithuanian SSR) to improve the operating regimes of nuclear and thermal power stations and to create flexible capacities to cover "peaks" in the load schedules of power systems. Foundations are also being laid to utilize new, non-traditional energy sources -- the sun, the wind, and geothermal waters.

Question: What will be the ratio of thermal to hydroelectric power stations?

Answer: The predominant role of thermal power stations as the chief "energy factories" will persist for a long time, but toward the end of the 11th 5-Year Plan their share of total electricity generation will fall from 80 percent in 1980 to 71 percent. Emphasis is being placed on gradually excluding oil from the power production processes. Power generation using organic fuel will be developed primarily in eastern regions on the basis of the cheap coal of the Ekibastuz and Kansk-Achinsk deposits and also Tyumen gas. It has been decided to construct five large power stations with a total capacity of 20 million kilowatts on the Ekibastuz deposits. Still more powerful stations will rise up on the basis of the Kansk-Achinsk deposit.

The problem of transmitting the electricity of the thermal stations being constructed in Siberia and Kazakhstan is also being resolved. Superhigh-tension power transmission lines unparalleled in world practice are being created for this purpose. Already in this 5-year plan it is proposed to commission the first stage of a 1,150-kilovolt AC power line from Ekibastuz to the Urals and a 1,500-kilovolt DC power line from Ekibastuz to the center.

Now about hydroengineering construction workers. They have complex tasks to resolve in the current 5-year plan: By the end of it hydroelectric stations are to generate 25 percent more electricity than in the 10th 5-Year Plan. New turbines with a total capacity of approximately 12 million kilowatts will be commissioned. For comparison let us state that one of our first hydroelectric stations -- the Volkhovskaya GES, which was very big for its time -- had a capacity of 58,000 kilowatts. Thus, an additional capacity equal to 200 Volkhovskaya power stations is now being added to the country's hydroelectric power generation over the course of 5 years.

The share of capacities which do not consume organic fuel will increase 8 percent compared with the 10th 5-Year Plan. This will make it possible to save more than 50 million metric tons of fuel over 5 years.

Question: More than half the entire output of coal, oil, and gas is now consumed by thermal electric power stations. What is being done to save fuel at GRES's?

Answer: The chief thing is to reduce fuel consumption in generating 1 kilowatt-hour. If this indicator can be reduced by just 1 gram, then the saving in the country as a whole will total approximately 1 million metric tons of fuel a year. What could this saved 1 million metric tons do? It is enough to generate 3 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, smelt 4 million metric tons of steel, extract 90 million metric tons of coal, or bake more than 100 million metric tons of bread.

Over the past 10 years specific fuel consumption has fallen very significantly at thermal electric power stations: from 366 to 328 grams per kilowatt-hour. It is planned to improve this indicator in the current 5-year plan.

The chief ways to make thermal power stations still more economical are to carry out their reequipping, furnish them with power equipment of large unit capacity, and modernize and replace equipment. The high qualifications and skill of power station workers and engineering and technical personnel are of considerable significance in saving fuel.

Question: The 26th CPSU Congress documents stated that nuclear power generation must be developed more quickly. What has been and is being done in this respect?

Answer: The new stage of the sector's reequipping and its scaling of qualitatively new heights are characterized by the accelerated development of nuclear power generation. By 1985 electricity generation at AES's will have trebled compared with 1980 -- for which power capacities for more than 20 million kilowatts have to be commissioned. It must be pointed out that these stations will be concentrated chiefly in the European part of the country. This will make possible a sharp reduction in the transportation of fuel to there from eastern regions for electricity generation.

Power units with million-kilowatt reactors will be commissioned in the current 5-year plan at AES's under construction -- the Kalinin, Zaporazhye, Kursk, Chernobyl, Smolensk, and other AES's. The construction of new AES's -- the Rostov, Kostroma, Tatar, Crimea, and Balakovo -- will get under way.

Furnishing existing AES's and AES's under construction with equipment of large unit capacity contributes to economical electricity generation. Our planners have drawn up a standardized plan for an AES with a capacity of 4 million kilowatts (for comparison let us recall that the world's first AES at Obninsk had a capacity of just 5,000 kilowatts). This plan will make it possible to organize the series flow construction of AES's with million-kilowatt power units. Construction of the Zaporozhye AES -- the first station where flow methods are employed, where series production technology is being perfected -- has already begun.

Nuclear power engineering will take on not only electricity generation but also the supply of heat to large cities. Nuclear heat supply stations will be constructed in Gorkiy and Voronezh, and a nuclear TETs in Odessa. The construction of just this one nuclear TETs for example, will make it possible to reduce annual fuel consumption by 2 million metric tons and to get rid of small boilerhouses, which pollute the air.

Question: How does the country's unified power system appear today?

Answer: The country's unified power system is the highest form of electricity supply centralization and is unparalleled in the world. The 700 power stations in the European part, the Urals, Siberia, the Transcaucasus, and North Kazakhstan united in the unified power system produce almost 90 percent of the electricity generated in the union. Power transmission lines cross seven time zones, and this makes it possible to manipulate the existing capacities: to switch power from regions where the demand for it is minimal at a given time of day or night to regions with maximum loading. The benefit from this is calculated in billions of rubles.

Question: What can you say, albeit briefly, about the significance of the USSR energy program?

Answer: This year's CPSU Central Committee June Plenum rated it among the major comprehensive socioeconomic programs being implemented at the present time. Its significance can hardly be overestimated. It is designed to ensure the resolution of the basic strategic task of the country's long-term economic development. And this task consists in implementing the structural, technical, and organizational-economic restructuring of the economy with a view to its speediest transfer to the intensive and energy-saving path of development.

It is known that the development of our country's economy is based totally on the use of our own fuel and energy resources. We not only meet our own fuel needs but also help the socialist community countries and export oil and gas to capitalist countries, too.

However, I must point out that the cost and difficulties of extracting fuel are increasing yearly. The center of the extraction of energy resources is increasingly shifting to the north and east. This requires big capital investments, and energy production is becoming more costly. In addition, we must remember that the majority of the most important types of resources are nonrenewable. Therefore the problem of a rational economical, thrifty attitude to fuel and raw materials and of improving the country's energy balance predetermined the content of the USSR energy program.

It is oriented toward the accelerated development of nuclear power generation, including fast neutron reactors, and toward continuing the search for new energy sources. The program provides for a further increase in gas and oil extraction in West Siberia and consistent growth in the efficiency of the country's fuel and energy complex. This growth will be achieved on the basis of introducing the latest achievements of science and technology.

Finally, much has to be done to create a reliable energy- and resource-saving system.

The energy program has been drawn up on the basis of calculations as to the chief indicators of the country's economic and social development through the year 2000. It is operating, and its realization serves the cause of overcoming the present problems facing our society.

BRIEFS

UKRAINIAN PHOSPHORUS DEPOSIT -- Kiev August 23 TASS -- A commercial phosphorus deposit has been discovered by geologists prospecting in the north-west of the Ukraine. The mineral lies at a depth of 15-20 metres which makes possible open-cast exploitation. "According to preliminary estimates by specialists, the reserves of the new deposit are tens of millions of tons," a TASS correspondent was told by the Minister of Geology of the Ukraine Nikolay Gavrilenko. "The exploitation of the deposit will considerably reduce carriage of phosphorus from remote districts of the country. This is important for the economy of the republic which has about 35 million hectares of arable land." The discovery is of highly important economic significance and is also interesting from a scientific point of view because it makes scientists revise their views on the prospects of the Ukrainian crystallic shield. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 23 Aug 83 LD]

USSR RESOLUTION ISSUED ON SUGAR BEET HARVESTING

LD190925 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Aug 83

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a resolution on additional measures to ensure the timely harvesting, procurement, and processing of sugar beet of the 1983 crop. The resolution notes that in recent years serious delays have been tolerated in the production of sugar beet and the fulfillment of plans for its purchase and the manufacture of sugar. The situation must be rectified. This is also necessary to take additional measures to provide a sufficient quantity of harvesting machinery and transport facilities and to organize the sale to the state of the whole crop from industrial plantings while not permitting the use of sugar beet for feed purposes. It has been deemed necessary to pay for sugar beet from feed plantings according to the established purchase prices with a supplement of 50 percent. Questions of the additional allocation of material and technical facilities to prepare kolkhozes and sovkhozes, beet reception points and sugar factories for the harvesting, procurement, and processing of this year's crop were also decided. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers expressed firm confidence that all measures will be taken for the harvesting and conversation of the crop which has been grown.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN REVIEWS HARVESTING PROGRESS

PM211821 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Aug 83 p 1

[N. Osychkin "Agricultural Review": "The Harvest Is at Its Peak"

[Excerpts] The focus of the summer harvest, as it were, is now in the Volga Region, from where the harvest line radiates east and west. The pace of the harvesting and shipment of grain is quickening in Saratov, Penza, Ulyanovsk, and Gorkiy Oblasts, Some 37.4 million hectares of grain -- more than half the crop -- have been cut and 33.3 million hectares have been threshed in the RSFSR. As can be seen, a considerable amount of work still has to be done and the remaining fine weather is diminishing all the time. It is important to increase the average daily output of combine harvesters, reapers, and trucks, which is still low. That is the sole reason why only one-third of the grain crop harvest has been gathered in Yaroslavl, Kalinin, Novgorod, and Kostroma Oblasts. The harvest work must be accelerated on many farms in the Urals Region. An example of shock work has been set in that respect by Bashkir ASSR farmers, who are about to complete the harvesting of their 2 millionth hectare with no interruption between harvesting and threshing. While fulfilling the plans, the ASSR's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are adopting increased pledges for the shipment of grain to the state.

The harvest has begun in the virgin lands -- Kazakhstan's main grandary. The task there is to thresh 15.5 million hectares of grain. Some 4,500 harvesting and trasport complexes and detachments are beginning work. The best machine operators from the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and other fraternal republics have gone to the virgin landers' aid. Rayon agro-industrial association councils are enduring flexible use of equipment, and most combine harvest teams have gone over to the tour-of-duty method of labor of organization. The first 6.5 million hectares of grain crops have been harvested and 5.4 million hectares have been threshed to date on Kazakhstan. The combine harvesters have left the fields on farms in Uralsk Oblast, and work is now being stepped up at threshing floors and in the shipment of grain. Heavy truck trailers are carrying grain to the elevators in Aktyubinsk Oblast. Sovkhozes and kolkhozes in Kustanay and Turgay Oblasts have begun shipping out barley and wheat.

Some 62 percent of the grain crop has been harvested in Latvia, 67 percent in Estonia, and 78 percent in Lithuania. Some 20 percent of the area has still to be threshed in Belorussia. The dispatching to the state silos of strong and durum wheat, millet, buckwheat, and peas must be increased everywhere. Some 415,000 hectares -- 37 percent of the crop -- of long-stemmed flax has been pulled; whereas this work has been completed in the Ukraine, it is being conducted only slowly in Smolensk, Ivanovo, Mogilevm, and Brest Oblasts. To date, 70,000 hectares of potatoes have been harvested and some 4.9 million tons of begetables have been bought from farms. Arable farmers are laying the foundations for the next harvest. More than 3 million hectares of winter crops have already been sown.

RSFSR CSA PUBLISHES DATA ON HARVEST PROGRESS

LD232229 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] Today the RSFSR Central Statistical Administration published data on the progress of field work in the republic. Grain and pulse crops, excluding corn, have been cut on more than 45 million hectares, and threshed on 40.5 million hectares which is three-fifths of the sown crops. (Begolov) deputy chief of the Main Directorate of Farming of the republic's Ministry of Agriculture, in a talk with our correspondent noted the high level of organization in Saratov, Orenburg, Orel and many other oblasts. At the same time the rate of harvesting is slow in Novgorod, Smolensk, Kostrom, Yaroslavl, and Kirov Oblasts. The overwhelming majority of collective and state farms are successfully managing the fulfillment of state plans for grain procurement. For example in Orenburg Oblast 90-100,000 tons of grain reach the elevators every 24 hours. Many farms and whole rayons of Kuybyshev, Penza, Perm, and other oblasts are near to fulfillment of the tasks. However, there are also some lagging behind. More than 400,000 tons of grain have accumulated on the threshing floors of Kurgan Oblast, while less than 2,000 tons have been delivered to the elevators. There is also a significant lagging behind in the big grain oblast of Omsk. Farmers of the Russian Federation, taking care of next year's harvest, have launched mass sowing of winter crops -- they have been sown on about one-third of the area allotted to them. However, specialists of the RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture consider that the under sowing of spring crops and preparation of fields is being carried out slowly.

BRIEFS

MANPOWER FOR UKRAINIAN FARMS -- The shortage of manpower does not endanger Novoozovskiy Rayon villages in the Donbass any longer. Having successfully passed a trial period, young people -- graduates from the local school -- manned workplaces in the fields and stockbreeding farms of the Priazovskiy Sovkhoz on 16 August. The improved working and living conditions, as well as the great changes taking place at Donbass villages, help boost the prestige of farm trades. Nearly 3,000 young men and women have reinforced Donbass farms in 1983. [Text] [Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1315 GMT 16 Aug 83 AU]

FALL PLOWING IN UKRAINE -- According to the Ukrainian Central Statistical Administration, Ukrainian farms have already prepared more than 8.2 million hectares of land for winter crop sowing, or more than 77 percent of the area planned. Plowing is nearing completion in Ternopol and Kirogograd Oblasts. [Summary] [Kiev Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 17 Aug 83 AU]

UKRAINIAN MILLET DELIVERIES -- Ukrainian farmers have begun to sell millet to the state. On 17 August, the first tons of grain were delivered to reception centers. Nearly 400,000 hectares of millet have to be harvested in the Ukraine in the current year. [Summary] [Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1445 GMT 17 Aug 83 AU]

LAUNCH OF COSMOS-1493 SATELLITE REPORTED

LD231416 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS -- The artificial earth satellite "Cosmos-1493", the next in the series, has been launched in the Soviet Union today.

On board the satellite is installed scientific equipment designed to continue outer space exploration.

The initial period of revolution of the satellite is 90.2 minutes; maximum distance from the earth's surface -- 396 kilometres, minimum distance -- 207 kilometres; and inclination of the orbit -- 72.9 degrees.

The onboard equipment of the satellite is functioning normally.

COSMOS-1443 MODULE 'SOFT LANDS' IN KAZAKHSTAN

LD231407 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 23 Aug 83

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS -- Correspondent reporting from the mission control center: In accordance with the program of the space flight the descent module of the "Cosmos-1443" spacecraft soft-landed in the planned area of Soviet territory 100 kilometers south-east of the city of Arkalyk (Kazakhstan) at 15.02 Moscow time today.

The descent module delivered to earth 350 kilograms of cargoes, including photo films taken by Cosmonauts Lyakhov and Aleksandrov within the framework of geophysical studies, materials of astrophysical, technological, biological experiments carried out by them in the orbit. It also delivered individual used-up units, instruments, and elements of the on-board systems of the Salyut-7 station for their detailed study at research, design and development institutions.

The flight of the "Cosmos-1443" spacecraft continues.

USSR AIR FLEET DAY FESTIVITIES CONTINUE

Moscow Meeting Held

PM231430 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 83 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Honoring the Motherland's Winged Falcons"]

[Text] A festive meeting of representatives of the Moscow public and servicemen of the capital's garrison devoted to USSR Air Fleet Day has been held in the Central Academic theater of the Soviet Army.

In the meeting presidium were P.S. Pleshakov, minister of the radio industry; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, USSR first deputy minister of defense; B.Ye. Panyukov and A.I. Nazarov, first deputy ministers of civil aviation; Chief Marshal of Aviation P.S. Kutakhov, Army General V.M. Shabanov, and Army General I.N. Shkadov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first depty chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Lieutenant General B.P. Utkin, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; A.N. Soshnikov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; Colonel General of Aviation L.L. Batekhin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Air Force Political Directorate; Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, first deputy command in chief of the Air Force; Marshal of Aviation G.P. Skorikov, chief of the Air Force Main Staff; and marshals of categories of troops, generals, admirals, chief designers of aircraft equipment, Soviet aviation veterans, and representatives of party, Soviet, and public organizations.

The festive meeting was opened by B.V. Nikolskiy, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom. An honorary presidium comprising of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo was elected with great enthusiasm.

Greeting messages were addressed to Soviet airmen by Hero of Socialist Labor K.S. Vasin, fitter at the Moscow Opyt Machine-Building Plant named for A.N. Tupolev; V.I. Fedosov, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Honored Pilot of the USSR I.F. Vasin, deputy minister of civil aviation; A.S. Systsov, first deputy minister of the aviation industry; and N.I. Yeremina, international class Master of Sport of the USSR, world record holder in helicopter sport, and pilot-instructor at the Yegoryevskiy DOSAAF aeroclub.

The meeting was addressed by Chief Marshal of Aviation P.S. Kutkhov, commander-in-chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister. We are celebrating USSR Air Fleet Day in an atmosphere of high political enthusiasm and nationwide struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, he said. The military airmen unanimously approve and warmly support the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the government and are enhancing their vigilance, strengthening combat readiness, and improving their air training.

With great enthusiasm the meeting participants adopted a greetings letter to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

A gala concert followed the festive meeting.

Kutakhov Grants Interview

PM231104 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 83 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Chief Marshal of Aviation P.S. Kutakhov by unnamed PRAVDA correspondent: "In Winged Formation", subhead reads: "Today Is USSR Air Fleet Day"]

[Text] On the eve of the holiday [USSR Air Fleet Day] Hero of the Soviet Union, Chief Marshal for Aviation P.S. Kutakhov, commander in chief of the Air Force and deputy defense minister, answered a PRAVDA correspondent's questions.

Question: Both on holidays and at ordinary times Soviet people think about peace. But the exacerbated international situation of recent time also prompts us with renewed forcefulness to think about the strength of our defense. What kind of contribution are military airmen making to the socialist fatherland's defense?

Answer: The Soviet Army and Navy today posses indomitable combat potential, which is made up of the personnel's high equipment level, military skill, and unshakable morale. All this is naturally also characteristic of our branch of the Armed Forces -- the Air Forces.

The chief thing in military airmen's service is the maintenance of high combat readiness, and that is forged during days of intensive working, during combat duties and on exercises, during classes, and on the ranges and airfields, as well as on long flights and during practice air battles.

A modern flier's level of training is embodied above all in his tactical, weapons, and technical skill. It is not by accident that front-line airmen dub such tactics "the flier's second weapon," and, I should like to observe, a weapon which is no less formidable than cannons, bombs, and missiles.

While raising the individual training of airmen, constant concern is also shown among the troops for high combat coordination of each crew, flight, and squadron.... After all, the modern Air Force is increasingly being equipped with weapons of collective use, which require precise coordination and rapid action on the part of the personnel.

Summing up, it may be said that our Air Force today, in conjunction with the other branches and categories of troops, as well as on their own, is capable of resolving major operational strategic tasks. The level of the aviation cadres' technical equipment and training meets the requirements for the reliable defense of the country.

Question: The Soviet people are currently marking the 40th anniversary of the historic battle of Kursk. Let us recollect how the Soviet airmen fought above the Kursk bulge.

Answer: The battle of Kursk was an engagement on an unprecedented scale. Greater forces took part in it than in the battles of Moscow and Stalingrad put together. More than 11,000 aircraft, for example.

It was precisely over the Kursk Bulge that the Soviet Air Force won strategic domination of the air. Total enemy aircraft losses during our defense and counterattack amounted to more than 3,700 aircraft, approximately 3,400 of which were shot down in the air.

During sustained and fierce air battles over the Kursk bulge Soviet airmen displayed massive heroism and high combat skill.

It was here that Lieutenant A.K. Gorovets, a pilot with the 8th Guards' Fighter Division, accomplished the legendary feat of shooting down nine enemy aircraft in a single battle. The history of air combat knows no other such feat. A.K. Gorovets was posthumously awarded the order of Hero of the Soviet Union.

It was during that time that the illustrious Soviet ace I.N. Kozhedub began his combat tally of destroyed fascist aircraft. During 1 year at the front the young air fighter shot down 26 enemy aircraft. And in all, by the end of the war, Ivan Nikitovich Kozhedub had carried out 330 combat sorties, conducted 120 air battles, and personally shot down 62 fascist aircraft.

The courageous flier A.P. Maresyev continued fighting in the sky above Kursk. Despite the amputation of both feet he destroyed three fascist aircraft in air battles.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government gave a high assessment to aviation's contribution to the victory at Kursk. Some 39 units and divisions were awarded orders, 27 were transformed into guards' units and divisions, and 8 received honorary designations. Thousands of airmen received government awards, many having conferred on them the lofty title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Question: Yes, in the summer of 1943 the Soviet Air Force won complete domination in the air, but some researchers in the West claim that this only became possible in connection with the bombing of Germany's airfields by allied air forces and the transfer of the fascist air force to the Western front. What is your view on this question?

Answer: Bourgeois military historians quite often try to belittle the significance of the Soviet Air Forces' brilliant victories. The claims that the might of the fascist air force was sapped in the first instance by the strikes made by Anglo-American bombers against Germany's aircraft plants are refuted by the historical facts. Up until 1943, while Hitler's Air Force was, so to speak, still "on top," the American and British Air Forces had dropped only 2 percent of their bombs on the enemy's aircraft installations.

Naturally the offensive by allied air forces in 1943, which they called a strategic air offensive, diverted part of Hitler's Air Force and hampered the work of its aviation industry. But, even in 1944, when the second front had already been opened in Europe, fascist Germany produced 16,000 more aircraft than in 1943.

And I should like to recall again that only the air defense fighters of fascist Germany were operating against the British and American Air Forces. Its main aviation forces, 70-75 percent, were carrying out combat actions on the Soviet-German front. No, the winning of strategic air domination by Soviet aircraft was not the result of the "transfer of the German Air Force to the Western front" but the consequence of the rout of the fascist air squadrons on the Soviet-German front.

The quantitative and qualitative growth and improvement of Soviet aircraft and their armament were the material basis of the struggle for air domination.

Let us compare some figures. During the years of the Great Patriotic War more than 134,000 aircraft in all were built in the Soviet Union and about 79,000 in fascist Germany. The number of flying personnel in the German Air Force fell during the first 3 years of the war from 45,000 to 21,000. The Soviet Air Force, on the other hand, experienced no shortage of flying cadres throughout the war....

Question: Soviet people, particularly representatives of the older generation, well remember the nationwide fame of the airmen during the prewar and front-line years.

Today, our airmen fly in modern supersonic jets, and also fulfill significant and important tasks. And even if we less frequently make a roll call of heroes, they do after all, exist, do they not?

Answer: Certainly, and there are thousands and thousands of heroes among modern airmen. They include excellent officers such as Heroes of the Soviet Union V. Gaynutdinov, G. Yeliseyev, Ye. Zelnyakov, V. Kot, I. Zhukov, V. Pavlov, V. Shcherbakov.... Their bravery has been displayed in military work in mastering new equipment and weaponry and fulfilling their internationalist duty and party and government assignments. During one sortie in Afghanistan a helicopter crew commanded by V. Shcherbakov, now a lieutenant colonel, found itself in a most difficult risky situation. Emerging with honor from their own trials, the airmen realized that misfortune had befallen the crew of another helicopter. And Shcherbakov, appreciating the situation, changed course and was able to rescue his comrades in arms. Sometimes, our military airmen, our contemporaries, have to give up their lives for the sake of saving the lives of many. Such feats have been accomplished in peacetime by military airmen B. Ryabtsev, B. Kapustin, V. Kubrakov, V. Nesterov, I. Shklyaruk....

Question: What are the main qualities that today's air fighter must have?

Answer: The CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum observed that Soviet man is distinguished by his active civic stance, his vital involvement in all state and social affairs, and his enterprising and creative work attitude. These characteristics are also possessed in full measure by Soviet military airmen. Soviet airmen, ardent patriots of the socialist motherland, are characterized by selfless love for their profession, devotion to their work, audacity and decisiveness, a striving to acquaint themselves with what is new, a strict and exacting attitude toward each step in life and service, high conscientiousness, a sense of responsibility, discipline, and a creative attitude toward military work.

Question: With what sort of achievements are the airmen marking today's holiday?

Answer: Recently the level of flier's air instruction has risen and the number of first-rate units and subunits, pilots and navigators, masters of combat operations and marksmen, men excelling in combat and political training, and class specialists has grown. The ideological tempering of servicemen-fliers is improving daily. It has caused a rise in their communist consciousness and a corresponding deepening of convictions. Guided by the decisions of the 26th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums and the recommendations of the Sixth All-Army Conference of Primary Party Organization Secretaries, Air Force Party and Komsomol organizations are waging a resolute struggle against oversimplification in pilot and crew combat training and for high efficiency in the training process. Air force units and subunits commanded by Communist officers V. Bychkov, V. Verkhoglyad, V. Vladimirov, G. Melnichuk, V. Semenenko, K. Kuksa, G. Igonin, K. Yefimov, and V. Mikhaylovskiy have achieved good indicators in socialist competition under the slogan "Increase Vigilance and Reliably Ensure the Motherland's Security!" "Many Pacesetting Commanders, Political Workers, Pilots Navigators, Engineers, Technicians, and Communications and Rear Specialists Have Received State Awards."

Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and chairman of the Defense Council, said in his speech at the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum: "We will continue to do everything necessary to ensure the security of our country and of our friends and allies, and we will increase the combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces -- a powerful factor in deterring imperialist reaction's aggressive aspirations." Fulfilling the instructions of the party and the people, Soviet airmen are always ready to fulfill their military duty of defending the gains of socialism.